

New Evidence Concerning the “Hotel Bristol” Question in the First Moscow Trial of 1936

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Leon Sedov

Leon Trotsky

John Dewey

1. Introduction

The purpose of this essay is to introduce new evidence regarding the Hotel Bristol in Copenhagen, the existence of which was questioned after the First Moscow Trial of August, 1936. The issue of Hotel Bristol has perhaps been the most used “evidence” for the fraudulence of the Moscow Trials.

This essay examines the Hotel Bristol question as it was dealt with in the Dewey Commission hearings of 1937 in Mexico by carefully examining newly uncovered photographs and primary documents.

The essay concludes that

- There was a Bristol located where the defendant in question said it was. This Bristol was in more than one way closely connected to a hotel.
- Leon Trotsky lied deliberately to the Dewey Commission more than once.
- Trotsky’s son Leon Sedov and one of Trotsky’s witnesses also lied.
- The examination of the Hotel Bristol question made by the Dewey Commission can at the best be described as sloppy. This means that the credibility of the Dewey Commission must be seriously questioned.

- The author Isaac Deutscher and Trotsky's secretary, Jean Van Heijenoort, covered up Trotsky's continuing contact with his supporters in the Soviet Union.
- It was probably Deutscher and/or Van Heijenoort who purged the Harvard Trotsky Archives of incriminating evidence, a fact discovered by researchers during the early 1980s.
- This is the strongest evidence so far that the testimony in the 1936 Moscow Trial was true, rather than a frame up. It is also in conformity with other evidence regarding the Moscow Trials recently uncovered by other researchers.¹

2. The Moscow Trials of 1936-1938

By "the Moscow Trials" we mean the series of three public trials that were held in Moscow during the years 1936-1938. All three of them attracted world attention.

The first trial took place on August 19-24, 1936. Sixteen defendants were accused of complicity in the formation of a united "Trotskyite-Zinovievite Bloc"² with the purpose of overthrowing the Soviet government by violence; organizing a number of terrorist groups; and preparing to assassinate a number of important Communist Party and Soviet government officials. It was further charged that one of these groups murdered Sergei M. Kirov, First Secretary of the Communist Party, in Leningrad on December 1, 1934 through instructions and directives from the Bloc. The main defendants were Grigory Zinoviev, Kirov's predecessor as Party leader in Leningrad and the former Chairman of the Comintern, and Lev Kamenev, former Assistant Chairman of the Council of the People's Commissariat. Among the other defendants was Eduard Solomonovich Gol'tsman, a former staff member of the People's Commissariat of Foreign Trade, the defendant who figures most prominently in this essay. All the defendants pleaded, to a varying degree, guilty as charged. The

¹ See for example Grover Furr/Vladimir Bobrov, "Nikolai Bukharin's First Statement of Confession in the Lubianka," *Cultural Logic*, vol. 10, 2007. At <http://clogic.eserver.org/2007/Furr_Bobrov.pdf>, retrieved July 6, 2008.

² "Trotskyite" is a pejorative word for "Trotskyist."

procurator Andrei Vyshinsky pleaded for the death penalty for all the defendants. The court granted his request in each case.³

The second trial took place five months later, on January 23-30, 1937. Seventeen people stood trial for having organized a “Trotskyite Parallel Centre to the Trotskyite-Zinovievite Bloc.” This centre’s alleged goal was to undermine the Soviet government with espionage, sabotage (called “wrecking” in the English translation of the trial transcript), and terrorist activity and, in the event of their assumption of power, to turn over Soviet territory to foreign powers. The defendants were accused of having committed espionage in favor of foreign powers; having organized and carried out acts of sabotage against a number of companies and the railroad lines, which resulted in the loss of human lives; and of planning a number of terrorist acts against members of the Soviet government. The main defendants were the former Assistant People’s Commissar of the Heavy Industry, Yuri Piatakov, and the former member of the Editorial Board of the government newspaper *Izvestia*, Karl Radek. Thirteen of the defendants were sentenced to death. The remaining four, among them Radek, were sentenced to between eight and ten years of imprisonment.⁴

The last trial took place March 2-13, 1938. It had the most defendants – 21 – and was arguably the most famous of the three. The defendants were accused of having organized, on the instruction of foreign powers, a bloc which the prosecution called the “Bloc of Rights and Trotskyites.” They were accused of having committed espionage on behalf of foreign powers; of committing espionage and terrorist activity; of asking for armed assistance from foreign powers in order to assume power; of planning the assassination of members of the Soviet government; and of committing a number of murders. The main defendants were Nikolai Bukharin, Zinoviev’s successor as Chairman of the Comintern and former Editor-in-Chief of *Izvestia*, and the former Chairman of the People’s Commissars, Alexei Rykov. Of the 21 defendants, 18 were sentenced to death; the remaining three were sentenced to 15-25 years imprisonment.⁵

The chief defendants *in absentia* in all these trials were former People’s Commissar of Defense, Leon Trotsky, and (in the case of the first two trials) his son Leon Sedov, both in exile abroad since 1929. In the decisions of the first two trials,

³ *The Case of the Trotskyite-Zinovievite Terrorist Centre*, Moscow 1936, p. 174.

⁴ *The Case of the Anti-Soviet Trotskyite Centre*, Moscow 1937, p. 574.

⁵ *The Case of the "Bloc of Rights and Trotskyites,"* Moscow 1938, p. 792.

the Court stated that Trotsky and Sedov were to be arrested if apprehended on Soviet territory.⁶

The trials were met with a mixed reception by members of the diplomatic corps and foreign journalists in Moscow and abroad. The trial transcripts were translated into many languages, including English.⁷ Voluminous pre-trial investigation materials of all three trials are still in existence but remain classified by the present Russian government.

3. The 1937 Dewey Commission

After the January 1937 trial Trotsky took measures to try and clear himself by means of a counter-trial. Trotsky's followers in the American Committee for the Defense of Leon Trotsky (ACDLT) started to prepare the counter-trial in March 1937. On the proposal of Trotsky himself, expressed in a letter to the committee on March 17, 1937, a Preliminary Commission of Inquiry was to be organized and sent as soon as possible to Mexico, where Trotsky was living in exile. In his unpublished dissertation the late John Belton described it as follows:

It was decided in compliance with Trotsky's suggestions, that a relatively small body, to be called the Preliminary Commission of Inquiry, should be organized and sent to Mexico with all possible haste. The basic plan was that this body would take Trotsky's testimony and would later, along with several other sub commissions, report to the Commission of Inquiry.⁸

At length, the Commission assembled on April 10-17, 1937 in Trotsky's residence in Coyoacan, Mexico. The chairman of the Commission was the famous philosopher and pedagogue John Dewey. Its secretary was feminist author Suzanne La Follette. The other members were Carleton Beals, author and specialist on Latin America; former German Social-Democratic Member of Parliament Otto Ruehle; and

⁶ *The Case of the Trotskyite-Zinovievite Terrorist Centre* 1936, p. 180; *The Case of the Anti-Soviet Trotskyite Centre* 1937, p. 580.

⁷ There was no real trial transcript published from the 1936 trial, but merely a report on the court proceedings.

⁸ John Belton, *The Commission of Inquiry into Charges Made Against Leon Trotsky in the Great Purge Trials in Moscow*, Houston 1976 (unpublished dissertation), pp. 70-71.

author and journalist Benjamin Stolberg. The judicial side was represented by Albert Goldman, who represented Trotsky, and by John F. Finerty, who had represented the defendants in the Sacco-Vanzetti Case.⁹ Dewey, La Follette, Stolberg and Goldman were members of the ACDLT.

In Mexico, the only witnesses that appeared were Trotsky himself and his former secretary Jan Frankel.¹⁰ An invitation was sent to the Soviet government through the Soviet embassy in Washington but the Soviet ambassador, Alexander Troyanovsky, publicly denounced the commission and refused to convey the invitation to the government in Moscow. Furthermore, he condemned Dewey, Stolberg and La Follette as being “ardent advocates to Trotsky.”¹¹

Two subcommissions took testimony elsewhere. One assembled in Paris on May 12-June 22, 1937. Its purpose was to examine the accusations against Trotsky’s son Leon Sedov. The other met in New York on July 26-27, 1937, attended by those Commission members present in New York at the time. A number of witnesses appeared during these hearings. Leon Sedov himself appeared in Paris.¹²

On September 21, 1937, the Commission issued its decision. Trotsky and Sedov were cleared on all charges in a statement 247 paragraphs in length.¹³ Later the same year the transcript of the hearings in Coyoacan was published in *The Case of Leon Trotsky*. The decision was published the following year in a book titled *Not Guilty*.¹⁴

4. Western scholars and the “Hotel Bristol” question

In all the historical works in which it has been raised, this “Hotel Bristol” question has been accepted as evidence that the trials were fraudulent and the defendants innocent. British scholar Robert Conquest, principal representative of the

⁹ Nicola Sacco and Romeo Vanzetti were two Italian anarchists who were sentenced to death and executed in Massachusetts, USA on August 23, 1927, accused of robbery and murder of a cashier and a security guard in a shoe factory in April, 1920. The case had strong political undertones and in 1977 the Governor of Massachusetts, Michael Dukakis, declared that the two men had been treated unjustly.

¹⁰ *Not Guilty*, New York 1972, p. 395.

¹¹ Belton 1976, p. 86.

¹² *Not Guilty* 1972, p. 395.

¹³ *Ibid*, p. 394.

¹⁴ The author of this essay has made numerous attempts to obtain transcripts from the hearings in Paris and New York, but to no avail.

so-called “totalitarian school”¹⁵ in Soviet research, discusses it in his work *The Great Terror*,¹⁶ as does Robert Tucker in his study *Stalin in Power*.¹⁷ The British author Simon Sebag Montefiore also highlights this question in *Stalin – The Court of the Red Tsar*.¹⁸

This conclusion of fraud has never made any sense. It is common for people to misremember details of trips they took several years earlier. Such errors are not evidence that the trip never occurred or that they never met with the persons they claimed to have. But the question of the non-existent “Hotel Bristol” is indeed of great interest. A study of it discloses important conclusions about Trotsky, the Dewey Commission hearings, and the veracity of the testimony at the 1936 Moscow Trial itself.

Western scholars base their opinion of the case of the “Hotel Bristol” mainly on two sources. The first is the Dewey Commission hearings in Mexico in April 1937. The second source is a book which has been cited more often than any other single work concerning the Moscow Trials and the purges in the Soviet Union during the 1930s in general. This is NKVD defector Alexander Orlov’s book *The Secret History of Stalin’s Crimes* published in 1953. However, the credibility of Orlov’s account suffered a blow when his KGB file was made public in the early 1990s.¹⁹ Furthermore, Orlov wrote his book long after Trotsky’s story had been established and therefore has no independent authority (that is, Orlov might have just copied and then elaborated the Dewey Commission account).

5. The “Hotel Bristol” issue as presented by the different actors

5.1. Gol’tsman’s testimony and the refuting article in *Social-Demokraten*

During the first Moscow Trial on August 21, 1936, defendant Eduard Gol’tsman (called “Holtzman” in the English-language report of the proceedings)

¹⁵ The totalitarian school focuses the terror in the Soviet Union during the Stalin era mainly on Stalin’s person while the revisionist school seeks alternative explanations.

¹⁶ Robert Conquest, *The Great Terror*, Harmondsworth 1971, p. 163.

¹⁷ Robert Tucker, *Stalin in Power – The Revolution from Above 1928-1941*, New York 1990, p. 372.

¹⁸ Simon Sebag Montefiore, *Stalin – The Red Tsar and His Court*, London 2003, p. 170.

¹⁹ For a more detailed account of the case of Alexander Orlov, see John Costello/Oleg Tsarev, *Deadly Illusions*, London 1993. The authors have had access to Orlov’s KGB file. J. Arch Getty also deals with Orlov’s lack of credibility in his work *Origins of the Great Purges*, New York 1985, pp. 211-212.

testified that in November 1932 he had agreed with Sedov to go to Copenhagen and meet with Trotsky, who, invited by Danish Social Democrats, arrived there on November 23 for a visit of eight days from his exile on the Turkish island of Prinkipo. In his affidavit before the Dewey Commission Trotsky himself confirmed that he really was in Copenhagen during this time.²⁰

In Gol'tsman's words:

. . . In November I again telephoned Sedov and we met once again.

Sedov said to me: "As you are going to the U.S.S.R., it would be a good thing if you came with me to Copenhagen where my father is."

Vyshinsky: That is to say?

Holtzman: That is to say, Trotsky.

Vyshinsky: Did you go?

Holtzman: I agreed, but I told him that we could not go together for reasons of secrecy. I arranged with Sedov to be in Copenhagen within two or three days, to put up at the Hotel Bristol and meet him there. I went to the hotel straight from the station and in the lounge met Sedov.

About 10 a.m. we went to Trotsky.²¹

A week after the death sentences had been carried out the credibility of this first Moscow Trial suffered a blow. A short article published on the front page of the Danish daily *Social-Demokraten* revealed that the Hotel Bristol in Copenhagen had gone out of business in 1917 and had never opened again.²²

5.2. The investigation made by the Danish Communists

On January 29, 1937 *Arbejderbladet*, organ of the Danish Communist Party, published an article by its editor Martin Nielsen criticizing Friedrich Adler's pamphlet

²⁰ *The Case of Leon Trotsky*, 1937, p. 29. Trotsky's arrival in and departure from Copenhagen was also well covered by the Danish newspapers. See for example *Berlingske Tidende*, November 24, 1932, p. 1. We do not know much about how the Danish police covered Trotsky's stay in Copenhagen since no records have been preserved in the archives of the Danish Security and Intelligence Service – Politiets Efterretningstjeneste (Personal communication with Lykke Sørensen, judicial head at Politiets Efterretningstjeneste, January 22, 2008).

²¹ *The Case of the Trotskyite-Zinovievite Terrorist Centre* 1936, p. 100.

²² *Social-Demokraten*, September 1, 1936, p. 1.

The Witchcraft Trial in Moscow.²³ The article was also published as a foreword in the Danish edition of the British lawyer D. N. Pritt's pamphlet about the Zinoviev-Kamenev Trial, *The Zinoviev Trial*.²⁴ In the article Nielsen pointed out that there was a hotel – the Grand Hotel – close to the Copenhagen railway station. He further claimed that connected to the hotel in 1932 was the “Konditori Bristol,” or Bristol café.²⁵ The *Arbejderbladet* article reproduced a diagram purporting to show that from 1929 to 1936 the Bristol café had an interior doorway connection directly with the Grand Hotel. A photo was also published showing the Bristol café as it appeared in January 1937 at the time of Nielsen's article.

Nielsen concluded:

With the reference to these facts it is not difficult to conclude that at least among the foreigners it had been the case that the café's internationally known name “Bristol” has become synonymous with the name of the hotel, and I do not doubt at all that when the accused Gol'tsman at the interrogation said: “I went to the hotel straight from the station and in the lounge met Sedov,” it was in the lounge of Grand Hotel that they met!²⁶

In March 1937 the magazine *Soviet Russia Today*²⁷ published the above-mentioned photo from 1937 with the following comment:

A great point has been made by the Trotskyists of the fact that a certain “Hotel Bristol” mentioned by Holzman in the Zinoviev-Kamenev trial as his meeting place with Sedov, does not exist. Actually, however, there was in 1932 and is today, just across from the Copenhagen Central Station, a “Café Bristol.” The Bristol is right beside the Grand Hotel

²³ Friedrich Adler was an Austrian socialist who in 1916 assassinated the Minister-President of Austria-Hungary, Count Karl von Stürgk and for that was sentenced to 18 years imprisonment. He was released in 1918 and after that was active in the Socialist International. He later became the Secretary General of the II International.

²⁴ D. N. Pritt, *Sinowjevprocessen*, Copenhagen 1937, pp. 1-8; Martin Nielsen, “Trotskist-Løgn afsløret: ‘BRISTOL’ eksisterer!” *Arbejderbladet*, January 29, 1937, pp. 7-8.

²⁵ Konditori and café in Scandinavia means the same thing.

²⁶ Nielsen 1937, p. 8.

²⁷ *Soviet Russia Today* was a magazine that was published in New York by an organization named “Friends of the Soviet Union.”

and at the time of the meeting between Sedov and Holzman had a common entrance with it.²⁸

We will discuss this passage from *Soviet Russia Today* in more detail later in this essay.

5.3. The “Hotel Bristol” question during the Dewey Commission hearings

The “Hotel Bristol” question received a lot of attention during the Dewey Commission hearings in Mexico a month later. The article in *Arbejderbladet* was more or less ignored. But the photo in *Soviet Russia Today* was discussed in detail. The photo was introduced during the hearing by Trotsky’s American lawyer Albert Goldman.²⁹ Goldman claimed that the photo had been tampered with in order to create an impression that there really was a Hotel Bristol.³⁰

Goldman also submitted a written affidavit from an American couple, Esther and B. J. Field. Both of them were close to Trotsky. When Jean Van Heijenoort arrived in Prinkipo to assume his duties as Trotsky’s secretary in October 1932, he found both of the Fields present. Trotsky would discuss economics with B. J. Field while Esther Field painted Trotsky’s portrait. Van Heijenoort described B. J. Field as one of only a small number of persons with whom Trotsky ever “contemplated a literary collaboration.”³¹

The Fields had accompanied Trotsky on the ship that brought him from Turkey to Marseilles before he continued the journey to Copenhagen in November 1932.³² They confirmed the contents of this affidavit in person during the hearing in

²⁸ *Soviet Russia Today*, March 1937, p. 7.

²⁹ *The Case of Leon Trotsky* 1937, p. 146.

³⁰ *Ibid*, p. 169.

³¹ Jean Van Heijenoort, *With Trotsky in Exile: From Prinkipo to Coyoacan*, Cambridge, 1978, pp. 7-8 and 56.

³² According to a Danish daily the people that accompanied Trotsky from Turkey to Denmark in November 1932 were, apart from his wife Natalia, his secretary Jan Frankel, two people named Pierre Frank and Otto Schussler, and also two private detectives set out to guard Trotsky – Robert van Buren and Gerard Rosenthal (*Berlingske Tidende*, November 24, 1932, p. 1). According to the affidavits presented to the Dewey Commission the Fields went to Paris from Marseilles together with Trotsky’s secretary Jan Frankel and some other Trotsky followers (*The Case of Leon Trotsky* 1937, p. 135). This seems to contradict the claim in *Berlingske Tidende* that Frankel followed Trotsky the whole way from Turkey to Copenhagen. According to the affidavits presented to the Dewey Commission, Trotsky and his party arrived in Copenhagen in the evening of November 23 and stayed in a villa, belonging to a danseuse who had gone abroad, located at Dalgas Boulevard 16 (*The Case of Leon Trotsky* 1937, pp. 154 and 519).

New York three months later. They claimed that during their sojourn in Copenhagen in November 1932 they had stayed at the Grand Hotel.³³

Esther Field commented on the photo in *Soviet Russia Today* as follows:

Directly next to the entrance of the hotel, and what appears as a big black splotch in the photo, is actually the location of the café next to the Grand Hotel; *and it is not the Konditori Bristol! The Konditori Bristol is not next door, but actually several doors away, at quite a distance from the hotel, and was not a part of it in any way, and there was no door connecting the Konditori ("candy store" it would be called here) and the Grand Hotel! Although there was such an entrance to the café which is blackened out in the photo, and which was not the Bristol.*³⁴

As can be seen, Esther Field confirmed that the name of the Konditori (café), or "candy store," was "Bristol." B. J. Field said that he could not remember the name of the store.³⁵ Esther Field went on to describe the alleged connection between Bristol and the hotel:

As a matter of fact, we bought some candy once at the Konditori Bristol, and we can state definitely that it had no vestibule, lobby, or lounge in common with the Grand Hotel or any hotel, and it could not have been mistaken for a hotel in any way, and entrance to the hotel could not be obtained through it.³⁶

Therefore according to the written affidavits of the Field couple regarding the location of Bristol we have the following situation: first we have the Grand Hotel,

³³ *Not Guilty* 1972, p. 82. There is no evidence that the Field couple really stayed at the Grand Hotel during their stay in Copenhagen as they claimed since we do not have access to the hotel records for this time. Lars Pallisgaard, CEO Grand Hotel Copenhagen, stated that the hotel only saves their records for five years (Personal communication, March 19, 2007). The Copenhagen County Records Office claim that delivery of the hotel records to the archives is optional for hotels since they are private enterprises. No records for Grand Hotel in Copenhagen have been saved in the archives (Personal communication with Michael Dupont, archivist at the Copenhagen County Records Office – Landsarkivet i København, April 10, 2007).

³⁴ *The Case of Leon Trotsky* 1937, pp. 169-170.

³⁵ *Not Guilty* 1972, p. 82.

³⁶ *The Case of Leon Trotsky* 1937, pp. 169-170.

then some other café “next to the Grand Hotel,” then “several doors” (several enterprises), and finally the Konditori Bristol.

Questioned on this point by Benjamin Stolberg, Goldman was unable to name this alleged other café but directed the matter to the coming hearing in New York with the Field couple.³⁷ However, during the hearing in New York no name of this alleged second café was given by them.³⁸ We use the term “alleged” advisedly as will presently become clear.

The Dewey Commission also presented a letter and a written affidavit from A. Vikelsø Jensen who identified himself as a member of the Social Democratic student group that had invited Trotsky to Copenhagen:

. . . (d) Two photographs of the *Konditori Bristol* and the Grand Hotel, transmitted to the Commission by A. Vikelsø Jensen of Copenhagen, which show a newspaper kiosk and two shops between the confectionery and the hotel, where the photograph cited above shows black; also over the entrance to the hotel, a horizontal electric sign, “Grand Hotel,” and between two large windows an entrance to the café, which do not appear in the photograph from *Soviet Russia Today*. (*Ibid.*, S II, Annex 7, b. c.)

These two photographs corroborate the testimony of Mr. and Mrs. Field concerning the relation between the Grand Hotel and the Bristol Café or Confectionery. **However, Jensen writes us that in 1932 the Confectionery was, as he remembers it, situated where the two shops are today.** [Emphasis added]

(e) . . . Jensen refers to a ground plan of the Bristol Confectionery and the Grand Hotel which appeared in *Arbeiderbladet* (organ of the Communist Party, Copenhagen) on January 29, 1937, and which, he says, entirely misrepresents the relation between the two. He states that the entrance to the Confectionery was not immediately beside the newspaper kiosk shown between that entrance and the entrance to the hotel, but farther to the right, so that in order to reach the Confectionery it was necessary to go through shops at the right which

³⁷ “The Case of Leon Trotsky 1937,” pp. 171-172.

³⁸ We do not know for sure that the name of this other café was not revealed in the New York hearing since no transcripts from this hearing are available but common sense says that if it had been revealed it would most certainly have been mentioned in the decision published in *Not Guilty*.

were to be seen from the street. **There was at that time a door connecting the lobby of the hotel with the service-rooms of the Confectionery; but it was chiefly used by the personnel of the hotel, and only rarely by the guests. According to the Hotel Inspector, he says, a normal person could never confuse the two concerns, and therefore no “Hotel Bristol” could result from such a confusion. In 1936, he states, the Confectionery was moved one house to the right, making room for three shops.** (*Ibid.*, S II, Annex 6)³⁹ [Emphasis added]

In its decision in September 1937 the Dewey Commission commented upon the question of the Grand Hotel and the Bristol café as follows:

The fact that there was no Hotel Bristol in Copenhagen in 1932 is now a matter of common knowledge. It would obviously, therefore, have been impossible for Holtzman to meet Sedov in the lobby of a Hotel Bristol. Yet Holtzman clearly stated that he arranged to “put up” at the Hotel Bristol and to meet Sedov there; and that they met in the lounge . . . There are the following possible explanations: (1) Holtzman might have arranged to meet Sedov in some hotel which he mistakenly remembered as the Bristol. (2) He might have arranged to meet him in the Bristol Confectionery. But if the English version of the record is correct, he arranged to “put up” at the Hotel Bristol – and one does not arrange to “put up” in a confectionery. Moreover, he stated that he met Sedov in the lounge . . . (3) There is also the possibility that Holtzman confused the Grand Hotel with the Bristol Café. But such a mistake must have been bewildering to Sedov, who had never been in Copenhagen. . . . Under such circumstances, as Trotsky correctly argues, Holtzman could have made such an error only *before* the meeting. *After* the meeting, the confusion would have been impressed upon his mind and he could not, in the trial, have spoken of a meeting in the Bristol Hotel.⁴⁰

³⁹ *Not Guilty*, pp. 91-92.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 93-95.

This paragraph is an evasion. We shall see that there is at least one other explanation that fits the evidence better than these three.

6. Examination of the evidence

6.1. The articles in *Social-Demokraten* and *Arbejderbladet*

We begin our examination of the evidence from the beginning and we can establish that the short article in *Social-Demokraten* is correct. It is a fact that the old Hotel Bristol was formed in 1901-1902 at Raadhuspladsen in Copenhagen and did indeed go out of business in 1917. The building was sold to an insurance company that converted the former hotel building into offices.⁴¹

The first substantive question we must investigate is this: Was there really a café named Bristol in close connection to Grand Hotel in 1932, as Martin Nielsen stated in his article in the Danish Communist paper *Arbejderbladet*? Or was the Bristol café located several doors away from Grand Hotel, and some other café connected to the Grand Hotel, as the Fields claimed?

6.2. The Copenhagen street directory and telephone directory

Fortunately we have several primary sources at our disposal. We consulted the street directory for Copenhagen, *Kraks Vejviser*. In the 1933 edition, printed at the end of 1932, the Grand Hotel and the Konditori Bristol were located at the same address – Vesterbrogade 9A (see *Figure 1*). No other stores or any other café were located at that address in 1932.

⁴¹ *Før og Nu*, vol. 3, 1917, p. 337. There have been other, incorrect, descriptions of the fate of the old Hotel Bristol – that it burned down and was rebuilt in 1936 and also that it was torn down and never rebuilt.

Figure 1. The residents of Vesterbrogade 9A and 9B in Copenhagen in 1932. Note that both Grand Hotel and Konditori Bristol are located at Vesterbrogade 9A. Also note the location of the Citroën exhibition hall at Vesterbrogade 9B.

	<u>Vesterbrogade 9A</u>
9A (= Reventlowsg. 2,4,6) (Direktør Axel Andresen) Grand Hotel København ☎ C.3600	← Grand Hotel
s Den gamle Bræddehytte v.W Thies ☎ C.1827 & C.1847 & C.13496	
Bristol Konditori ☎ C.1632	← Bristol
s Thies Wm. Restauratør ☎ C.1827	
9B (84 - E.1.100.000 - G.445.000)	<u>Vesterbrogade 9B</u>
s Löwen V Gross. Frm. ☎ C.7885	
Automobiles Citroën Akts., Udstil- lingslokale ☎ C.2106 & C.2107	← Citroën exhibition hall
1,1 Tøfdrup Julius Gross. Frm. ☎ C.877	
*Tøfdrup Julius Gross. ☎ V.7009	
Lord & Thomas Akts. Reklame- bureau ☎ C.15908	
Wivel Carl-Eilert Gross. ☎ V.8297	
Gandil Louis Ejendomsstift. ☎ Eva 2900	
Ambye P Arkitekt	
Seeligmann & Messerschmidt Læder en gros ☎ C.1462	

Source: Kraks Vejviser, del I: Adressebog for Danmark 1933, p. 604.⁴²

By contrast, in the 1937 edition of *Kraks Vejviser*, printed at the end of 1936, Konditori Bristol is located at a different address – Vesterbrogade 9B (see *Figure 2*). According to Nielsen's article that was because the Grand Hotel underwent reconstruction in 1936 which had the consequence that Bristol was moved further down the street towards Colbjørnsensgade.⁴³ These facts are corroborated by the affidavits presented to the Dewey Commission.⁴⁴ *Kraks Vejviser* for 1936, printed at the end of 1935, shows the Bristol at Vesterbrogade 9A at the end of 1935.⁴⁵ By the end of 1936 the café had moved to Vesterbrogade 9B, as can be seen in the figure below. This corroborates Nielsen's claim. Konditori Bristol remained at this address until it closed down in the late 1960s.⁴⁶ At Vesterbrogade 9A there were, at the end of 1936, also three shops: a newspaper kiosk, a barber shop and a photo shop.

⁴² The words "(=Reventlowsg. 2, 4, 6)" indicate the fact that Vesterbrogade 9A is on the corner of Reventlowsgade, as can be seen in the photographs discussed below.

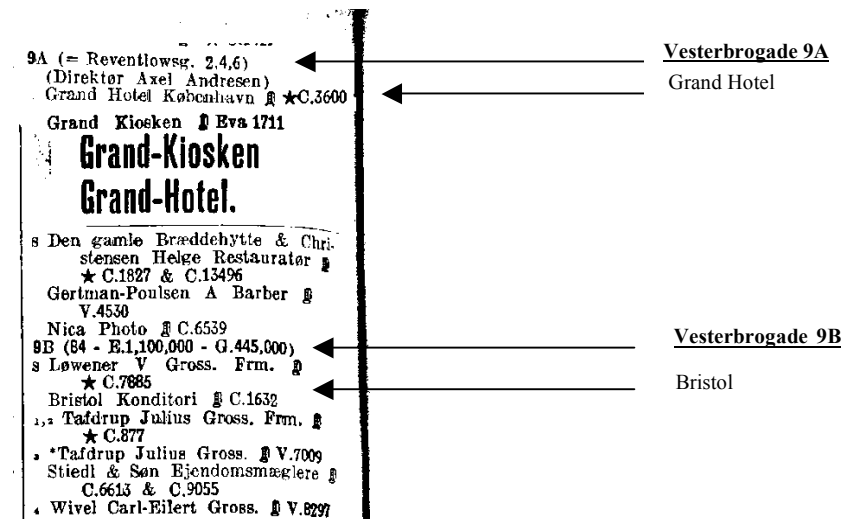
⁴³ Nielsen 1937, p. 8

⁴⁴ *Not Guilty* 1972, p. 92.

⁴⁵ *Kraks Vejviser, del I: Adressebog for Danmark, 1936*, Copenhagen 1935, p. 626.

⁴⁶ Bristol is mentioned as one of the cafés in Copenhagen in the 1968-69 edition of the Scandinavian trade directory (*Nordisk Handelskalender*). However, in the 1970-71 edition it is not there any longer. The last time it appears in *Kraks Vejviser* is in the 1969 edition printed at the end of 1968 (*Kraks*

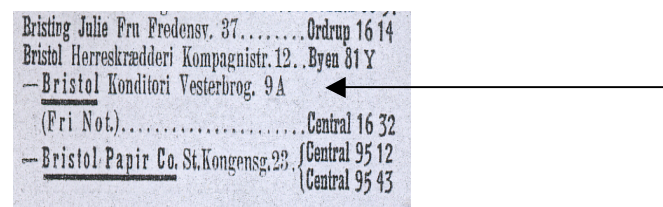
Figure 2. The residents at Vesterbrogade 9A and 9B in late 1936. Note that Bristol has now moved to Vesterbrogade 9B and to the same place as the Citroën exhibition hall was located in 1932. The image is partially edited due to a column break in the original document.



Source: Kraks Vejviser, del I: Adressebog for Danmark 1937, p. 640.

We also consulted the telephone directory for Copenhagen, *Telefon Haandbog*. In the 1933 edition printed in January 1933 – two months after the alleged meeting between Trotsky and Gol'tsman – it is also evident that the Konditori Bristol was located at Vesterbrogade 9A (see *Figure 3*).

Figure 3. Konditori Bristol in the Copenhagen telephone directory for 1933. Note that the address of the café is exactly the same as in the street directory – Vesterbrogade 9A.



Source: Telefon Haandbog 1933, p. 393.

Vejviser, del 3. Adressebog, 1969, Copenhagen 1968, p. 6397). We can therefore assume that it was closed down probably in 1969.

In the 1937 edition we can see that Bristol has now moved to Vesterbrogade 9B (see *Figure 4*). The telephone directory corroborates the street directory.

Figure 4. Konditori Bristol in the Copenhagen telephone directory for 1937. Note that also in this case the telephone directory corroborates the street directory which means that the address has changed to Vesterbrogade 9B.

Bristol	
— Bristol Konditori Vesterbrog. 9B	←
(Fri Not.)	Central 16 3
— Bristol Kul & Cokesfirma:	{ Central 81 4
St. Kongensg. 62.	{ Central 74 4
Gross. G. Bang-Andersen Bolig Ved Lin-	
den 11	Amager 17 1

Source: Telefon Haandbog 1937, p. 427.

There is a minor discrepancy between these two primary sources. In both the 1933 and 1937 editions of the telephone directory the address of the hotel is Vesterbrogade 9, rather than 9A as in *Kraks Vejviser* (see *Figure 5* and 6).⁴⁷

Figure 5. Grand Hotel in the telephone directory for 1933. Note the small discrepancy regarding the address compared to the street directory – Vesterbrogade 9 instead of Vesterbrogade 9A. Note that the telephone directory lists entries alphabetically, not by street address, so the “Konditori” listed below the Grand Hotel is on a different street and has no relationship to the Konditori Bristol.

— Hotel Garni (P A Lundström) Hovedvægtsgade 6	Central 13,434
— Grand Hotel København	{ Central 36 00
Vesterbrog. 9	{ Statstelt. 202
— Konditori (I P Jensen) Isafjordsg. 3.	Central 13,004
— Magasin (Aage Strand) Gl. Kongevej 157-159	Central 10,967

Source: Telefon Haandbog 1933, p. 696.

⁴⁷ This small discrepancy does not change anything since we know for a fact that the Grand Hotel has always been located at the same place since its foundation in 1890. (See <http://www.grandhotelcopenhagen.com/about_grand/>, retrieved November 14, 2008.)

Figure 6. Grand Hotel in the telephone directory for 1937. Note that the discrepancy from 1933 compared to the street directory is still there.

— Jens Fabrikant JMThielesv. 1 A	Central 79 71
— Flede Export Hambrosg. 6 A	Central 12,637
— <u>Grand Hotel København</u> (Dir. {	★ Central 36 00
E Weinold) Vesterbrog. 9	{ Statstelf. 202 ←
— Kiosken Grand Hotel Vesterbrog. 9 A. Eva	17 11
— Konditori (Cari E Hansen) Isafjordsg. 3.	Central 13,004

Source: Telefon Haandbog 1937, p. 780.

6.3. Photographic evidence and the diagram in *Arbejderbladet*

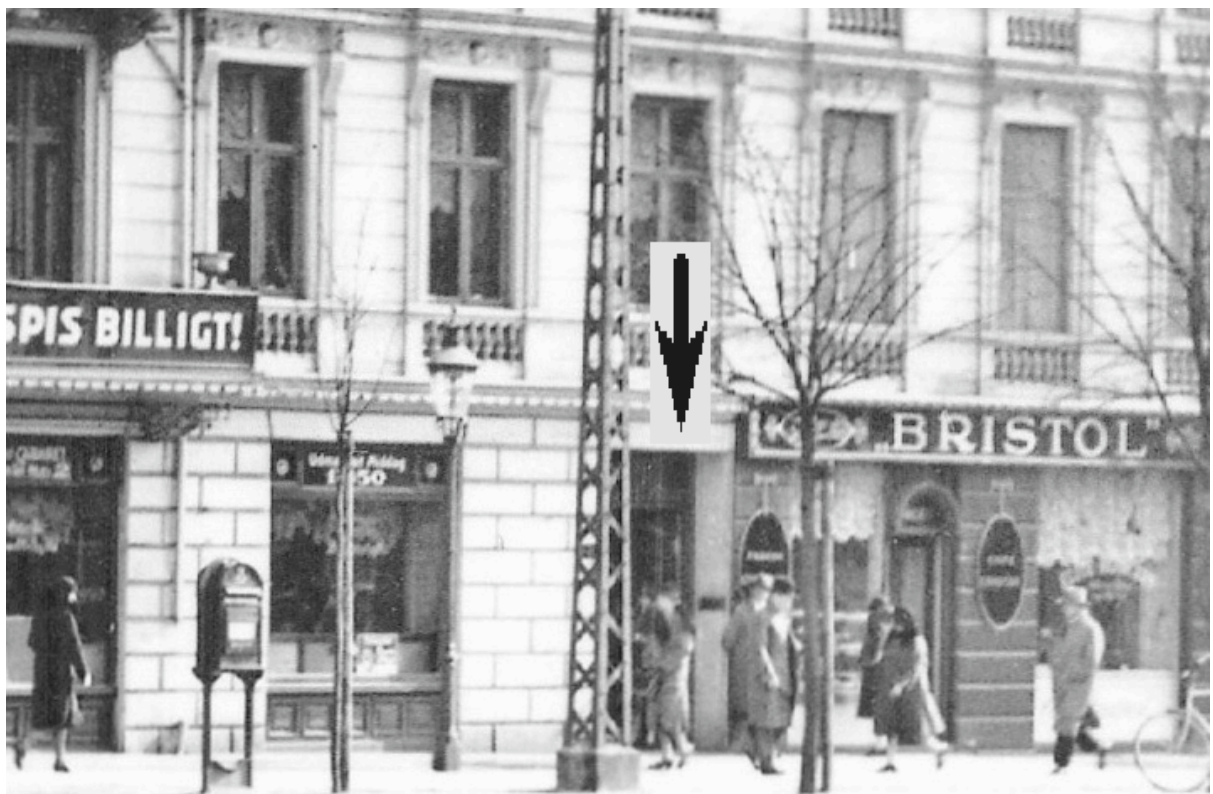
Fortunately we also have photographic evidence at our disposal. We have one photo from 1929, and a second from 1931 that was printed in the 1932 edition of *Kraks Vejviser*. We begin with a detailed view of a part of the 1929 photo (see Figure 7). It is from the collection of *Københavns Bymuseum* (the Museum of Copenhagen) and was taken in June 1929.⁴⁸ There is no sign indicating the entrance to the Grand Hotel, which is beneath the arrow. Further inquiry has disclosed that at this time it was run as a pension – in American terms, a residential hotel.⁴⁹ The Grand Hotel is mentioned in the 1931 edition of *Kraks Vejviser* but not in the 1930 edition.⁵⁰ This reflects the fact that during 1930 the hotel was changed from a pension to a regular transient hotel.

⁴⁸ According to Mette Bruun Beyer, photo archivist at the Museum of Copenhagen, the photo was requested by the museum as a record photo of the city buildings. There is no name of the photographer, but it could have been a hired photographer at the City of Copenhagen named Hannuss (Personal communication, October 24, 2008).

⁴⁹ A pension can be described as a simplified hotel. Originally the pensions provided their guests with food and housing for a longer period of time.

⁵⁰ *Kraks Vejviser, del I: Adressebog for Danmark 1930*, Copenhagen 1929, p. 558; *Kraks Vejviser, del I: Adressebog for Danmark 1931*, Copenhagen 1930, p. 563. No information is given in the 1930 and 1931 editions of *Kraks Vejviser* regarding the printing month. However, in the 1932 edition the foreword is dated December 1931, so in probability the same goes for the 1930 and 1931 editions.

Figure 7. Konditori Bristol as it looked from outside in 1932 at the time of Gol'tsman's alleged visit. The photo is taken in June 1929. At that time Grand Hotel was run as a pension. The hotel entrance was located below the arrow. With some difficulty we can see the revolving door – the same kind of door that appears on the diagram in *Arbejderbladet* (see *Figure 10*). The well-known restaurant “Den Gamle Braeddehytte” can partially be seen to the far left of the photo.



Source: Københavns Bymuseum.

Figure 8 shows the whole photograph of June 1929. To the right of the Konditori Bristol is a cigar shop that was there in 1930. By 1931 it had moved to Vesterbrogade 11A. To the right of the cigar shop is the exhibition hall for Citroën located at Vesterbrogade 9B.

Figure 8. The 1929 photo from a point near the railway station. The hotel sign in 1931 was located at the upper left part of the building below the arrow. The entrance to the Grand Hotel was located below the arrow in the middle where in 1937 there was also a sign for the hotel. This center arrow indicates the revolving door of the Grand Hotel. Next to it is the Konditori Bristol with its prominent sign reading “Bristol.” The third arrow at the farthest right indicates the location of the Konditori Bristol in 1937, at the time of the Dewey Commission hearing in Mexico. Facing the reader is the restaurant “Den Gamle Braeddehytte” at the corner of Reventlowsgade and Vesterbrogade.



Source: Københavns Bymuseum.

This photo thus corroborates the information in the street and telephone directories. Let us now move on and take a look at the 1931 photo printed in *Kraks Vejviser* 1932 (see Figure 9).

Figure 9. Grand Hotel in 1931. To the upper left of the picture, below the arrow, we see a sign, the name of the hotel at the building. This was not present in the June 1929 photograph and was presumably erected in 1930, when the hotel was converted from a pension. The hotel entrance is beneath the arrow to the bottom right.

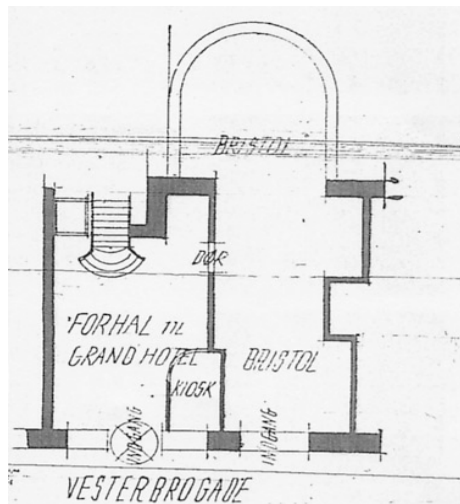


Source: Kraks Vejviser, del II: Handelskalender for Danmark 1932, p. 2867.

This photo shows the building from the other side of the street near the railway station. As we can see there is no illuminated hotel sign on either one of the photos along Vesterbrogade as can be seen in the 1937 photo in *Soviet Russia Today*. We will return to this point below.

Figure 10 is the diagram published in Nielsen's *Arbejderbladet* article. Nielsen claimed that it showed how the hotel and the café were direct connected to each other by an interior door.

Figure 10. Konditori Bristol in relation to Grand Hotel during the years 1929-1936. Note that the entrances (*indgang*) are right next to each other. Note the revolving door to the left – the same revolving door that we can see in the 1929 photo (see *Figure 7*) above. Note also the internal door (*dør*) connecting Grand Hotel and Bristol in the middle of the diagram.



Source: Arbejderbladet January 29, 1937, p. 8.

That the Grand Hotel was connected to a café in 1932 was corroborated in the Dewey Commission hearings by both Esther Field and A. Vikelsø Jensen as we have seen.⁵¹ We have now established from primary sources that the only café connected to the Grand Hotel in 1932 was the Konditori Bristol. The primary sources corroborate Nielsen's article in all essential respects.

We finish our examination of Nielsen's article by examining the photo of the Konditori Bristol on page 7 of his article in *Arbejderbladet* (see *Figure 11*). This photo appears to be the same one as that published in *Soviet Russia Today* upon which Albert Goldman and Esther Field commented during the Dewey Commission hearings. Only the light-dark contrast in the two photos is different.

⁵¹ The diagram contains a small discrepancy compared to the street directory in that it shows a kiosk. In 1932 no kiosk was located at Vesterbrogade 9A. It does not appear there in the street directory until 1933 (see *Kraks Vejviser, del I: Adressebog for Danmark 1934*, Copenhagen 1933, p. 620).

Figure 11. The photo in *Arbejderbladet* showing Konditori Bristol in 1937.



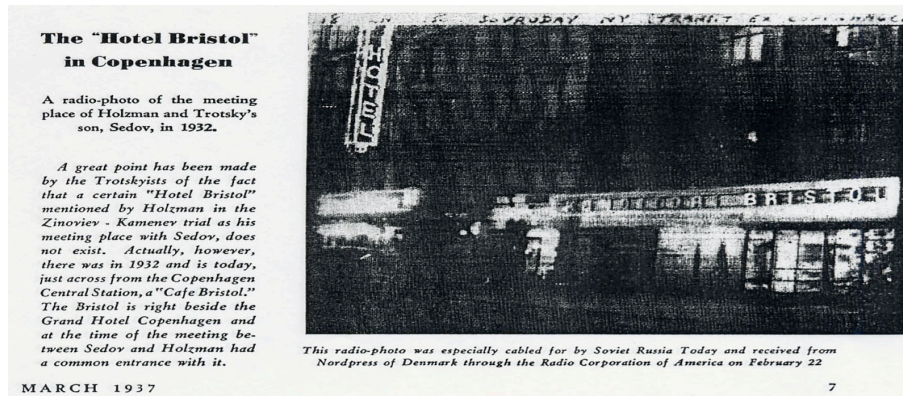
Source: *Arbejderbladet* January 29, 1937, p. 7.

The text beneath this photograph reads as follows:

This is what “Bristol” looks like today. One notices to the left on the picture the Grand Hotel which at the time referred to during the trial was (accessible) through a door, the connection with “Konditori Bristol,” for which reason foreigners believed “Bristol” was a hotel.

This photo in *Arbejderbladet* was met with complete silence during the Dewey Commission hearings. We will return to this matter later. We now move on to discuss the same photo published in *Soviet Russia Today* (see Figure 12).

Figure 12. The photo in *Soviet Russia Today* showing the Konditori Bristol and Grand Hotel. To the upper left on the picture the hotel sign is visible.



Source: *Soviet Russia Today*, March 1937, p. 7.

We have quoted the text to the left of this photograph earlier in this essay. We can now see that this text is incorrect. *Soviet Russia Today* states that the photo shows the Grand Hotel and the Konditori Bristol as it looked in 1937 and also in 1932. In fact it shows the relationship between the hotel and Bristol in 1937, but not in 1932.

We now move on to compare the affidavits presented to the Dewey Commission with our primary sources.

It is clear that Esther Field's affidavit is incorrect. Her claim that there was another café, but not the Bristol, connected with the hotel in 1932 is completely inconsistent with the facts. We can see from primary sources that no other café than the Bristol was connected to the Grand Hotel in 1932 when the Fields said they were there. In 1937 there was no café at all connected to the hotel. Esther Field is describing a situation that did not exist either in 1937 or in 1932.

This is basically true with respect to Vikelsø Jensen's affidavit as well. Vikelsø Jensen wrote that a newspaper kiosk and two shops stood between the hotel and Bristol. This is consistent with the situation that existed in 1937. The street directory shows us that in 1937 there were a kiosk, a barber shop and a photo shop at Vesterbrogade 9A (see Figure 2).

However, Gol'tsman claimed to have met Trotsky in 1932 – and in 1932 the situation was different. Vikelsø Jensen admits this in his affidavit. But later when he comments on the diagram in *Arbejderbladet*, he once again confuses the situation in 1932 with the situation in 1937. Vikelsø Jensen's claim that the proprietor of the Grand Hotel was married to the proprietor of Bristol is corroborated by *Kraks Vejviser* where the owner of the Grand Hotel, Mr. Axel Andresen, is also mentioned as owner of Bristol.⁵²

6.4. Possible explanations for Gol'tsman's statement about "Hotel Bristol"

There are three hypotheses (possible explanations) for Gol'tsman's statement about meeting Sedov at the "Hotel Bristol":

- The NKVD invented it and put the words into Gol'tsman's mouth.
- Gol'tsman himself invented it for some unknown reason.
- Gol'tsman told the truth but misremembered the name of the Grand Hotel as the "Hotel Bristol."

Let's consider the first hypothesis. According to Alexander Orlov, the "Hotel Bristol" blunder happened because in fabricating the story the NKVD confused Oslo and Copenhagen, mistakenly believing that Hotel Bristol in Oslo was located in Copenhagen. We can now exclude this possibility.⁵³

If the NKVD created this story and put it into Gol'tsman's mouth it would mean that

1. The NKVD invented a fictitious hotel by the name Bristol.
2. They located it near the main railway station in Copenhagen where, *by chance alone*, the following situation obtained:

⁵² *Kraks Vejviser, del II: Kraks Handelskalender for Danmark, 1933*, Copenhagen 1932, p. 2972.

⁵³ Alexander Orlov, *The Secret History of Stalin's Crimes*, New York 1953, pp. 57-58. Hotel Bristol in Oslo was founded in 1920 and still remains today. Orlov also claimed that, in order to save the situation after the article in *Social-Demokraten* had become public, Yagoda sent an experienced officer to Copenhagen but that the officer came back empty-handed. If the officer was as experienced as Orlov claims he was it is more or less out of the question that he could have missed the constellation Grand Hotel/Bristol since the first place that he would have most certainly looked was around and near the railway station.

3. There was a real hotel that had a café
 - (a) Immediately next to it;
 - (b) That happened to be named the “Bristol”; and
 - (c) That had a large sign right beside and above the door with the word “BRISTOL” on it; while
 - (d) The hotel entrance right next door had no clearly visible sign.
 Furthermore,
 - (e) The hotel and the Bristol café also shared a common internal passageway; and
 - (f) Were owned by the same proprietor, so that any confusion of names between the hotel and café would cause no inconvenience to him.

This is too much of a coincidence. On these grounds alone we can dismiss the hypothesis that the NKVD fabricated this story.

Of course there never was any evidence that the NKVD fabricated Gol'tsman's story. This “theory” was an invention of Alexander Orlov, who has been proven to have lied many times in his book. Likewise there is no evidence that Gol'tsman fabricated the story himself. In any case the same objections hold: it would have been just as great a coincidence for Gol'tsman to fabricate this story as for the NKVD to do so.

There remains for us to investigate the hypothesis that Gol'tsman told the truth. Since this is the only remaining possibility, we would be forced to reach this conclusion in any case. However, we can now support this conclusion on evidentiary grounds as well.

6.5. The hotel signs indicating “Grand Hotel”

Gol'tsman's testimony regarding the circumstances in which he met Sedov means that he could only have arrived at Copenhagen from Berlin on the night train. This train, provided that it was on time, would have arrived in Copenhagen at 6.05 am.⁵⁴ It would have been still dark outside; the sun does not rise in Copenhagen at

⁵⁴ *Rejseliste for Kongeriget Danmark*, no 9, September 1932, p. 17.

this time of the year until 8 am.⁵⁵ The main railway station in Copenhagen is located right across the street from the Grand Hotel.

We do not know whether the hotel's sign high up on the building on the Reventlowsgade side was illuminated or not. Even if it were, it is quite possible that Gol'tsman either did not see the sign or that he did not remember it. The vital thing is this: the hotel sign did not indicate the entrance to the hotel.

By comparing the photos of the Bristol in 1937 with the earlier photos, we can see that in 1937 there was an illuminated hotel sign near the hotel entrance that was not there in the photos from 1929 and 1931. We already know that until 1936 the entrances to the Bristol café and the hotel were adjacent to each other. It's unlikely that these two facts are unconnected.

The sign was probably set up when the Bristol café moved two doors away from the hotel. According to both Vikelsø Jensen, the witness for the Dewey Commission, and to Nielsen, author of the article in the Communist paper *Arbejderbladet*, this occurred in 1936;⁵⁶ their statements are also consistent with the evidence we have adduced from *Kraks Vejviser* and the telephone directory. At that time it became necessary to erect the sign that protruded at a right angle or nearly so from the wall of the Grand Hotel near the door, in order to inform potential guests where the hotel entrance was.

When the hotel was a pension, before 1930, there was no need for a sign by the door. The long-term residents of the pension knew where the entrance was just as any resident knows where his apartment building is without needing a sign. When the hotel and café were adjacent to each other anyone entering the Bristol café could easily pass through the interior door into the hotel lobby. No doubt not just Gol'tsman alone but other people too – something Nielsen notes in his article – regularly confused the entrance to the hotel with the entrance to the Bristol café. But that was no problem as long as the hotel and the café were connected with each other through this door, and owned by the same proprietor.

But once the café was moved so that it was no longer adjacent to the hotel in 1936, the large "Bristol" sign no longer stood beside the entrance to the Grand Hotel.

⁵⁵ US Naval Observatory Astronomical Applications Department. At <http://aa.usno.navy.mil/data/docs/RS_OneDay.php>, retrieved July 21, 2008. The information has been obtained by stating Copenhagen's geographical coordinates and time zone. The chosen date has been November 23, 1932 – the day for Trotsky's arrival to Copenhagen.

⁵⁶ Nielsen 1937, p. 8; *Not Guilty* 1972, p. 92.

The need arose to indicate the hotel entrance by another means: a special sign. We can therefore hypothesize that the illuminated hotel sign was put up near the hotel entrance at the same time.

To sum up: After 1936, when the café had moved a few doors away from the hotel and the hotel had erected a sign beside its doorway, it was no longer possible to confuse the hotel entrance with the café entrance. But before this it had been easy and, in fact, natural to confuse them.⁵⁷

The June 1929 photograph from the Museum of Copenhagen makes it clear that the large “Bristol” sign above and to the right of the entrance to the Konditori is by far the most prominent sign on the side of this building. It alone can be easily read from across the street by the train station, where the photographer stood in June 1929. In June 1929, the “Bristol” sign was the *only* landmark by which one could locate the entrance to the Grand Hotel. We have no evidence that the situation had changed by 1932 when Gol’tsman said he made his trip.

Sedov could have told Gol’tsman something like the following: “When you arrive to Copenhagen, leave the railway station through the entrance at Vesterbrogade. Then go to the left and across the street from the railway station. You will see a big sign with the name BRISTOL. To the left of that sign is a revolving door. That is the hotel entrance. I’ll wait for you there.” In our view Sedov must have done so. There was no other landmark near the hotel entrance, no other way of identifying that entrance except with reference to the only prominent feature on this building – the “Bristol” sign.

The most plausible theory is that Gol’tsman met Sedov at the revolving door near the sign. Four years later he remembered the hotel as – Hotel Bristol. This is the kind of mistake that anyone can make, especially after an all-night train ride, in darkness, and when in an excited or agitated mood because the trip is clandestine and illegal.

The evidence of the new sign present in the 1937 photographs discussed above suggests that many other travelers may have made this same confusion before and after Gol’tsman did. Nielsen’s argument that Gol’tsman confused the name of the

⁵⁷ When the hotel was transformed from a pension to a hotel, a horizontal, semicircular structure similar to a marquee had been constructed over the hotel entrance to provide the entrance with some shelter from rain falling perpendicularly. It is not possible to tell from the 1931 photograph if that structure had the name of the hotel on it. But even if a small sign identifying the hotel entrance had been there in 1932, it was thought inadequate. Otherwise there would have been no need for a large illuminated neon sign in 1936.

hotel with the name of the café four years later must be regarded not only as plausible – it is the *only* plausible scenario. Therefore this is strong evidence that Gol'tsman told the truth.

6.6. The falsehoods by Trotsky and his witnesses concerning the “Hotel Bristol” issue

On February 9, 1937, Trotsky made the following statement in a speech that he gave by telephone to the New York Hippodrome Meeting:

Unlike the other defendants, Holtzman indicated the date: November 23-25, 1932. . . .⁵⁸

In reality, Gol'tsman *never* indicated any date in his testimony. He only said that the meeting took place in November 1932.⁵⁹ Even a cursory attempt to check what Trotsky said against the trial transcript reveals this error. Could Trotsky really have been so careless about a subject that was so vital to him? Was he so desperate for *any* refutation that he simply grasped at straws? Or did he correctly realize that the Dewey Commission and the mass media, eager to indict the Soviet Union, would not look too closely at Trotsky's attempts to prove his innocence – as, in fact, turned out to be the case?

The facts we have uncovered from primary sources are incompatible with the statements made before the Dewey Commission. In his testimony on April 12, 1937 Trotsky denied having had any contact with Gol'tsman since 1927:

GOLDMAN: Have you in any way had any communications with any Holtzman since you left Russia?

⁵⁸ Leon Trotsky, *I Stake My Life*, New York 1937. At<<http://www.marxist.com/trotsky-i-stake-my-life.htm>>, retrieved July 17, 2008.

⁵⁹ *The Case of the Trotskyite-Zinovievite Terrorist Centre* 1936, p. 100. In his closing speech before the Dewey Commission on April 17, 1937, Trotsky does not mention the dates for Gol'tsman's alleged visit to Copenhagen stated in his speech on February 9, 1937 (*The Case of Leon Trotsky* 1937, pp. 515-522). Apart from Gol'tsman Trotsky's alleged “hit men” Konon Berman-Yurin and Fritz David also claimed to have met Trotsky in Copenhagen during his stay there. Fritz David says very little about the circumstances around the meeting, only that it took place at the end of November 1932 (*The Case of the Trotskyite-Zinovievite Terrorist Centre* 1936, p. 112). Berman-Yurin says more; that the meeting took place between November 25 and November 28, 1932 (*The Case of the Trotskyite-Zinovievite Terrorist Centre* 1936, p. 94).

TROTSKY: Never.

GOLDMAN: Directly or indirectly?

TROTSKY: Never.⁶⁰

Documents in the Harvard Trotsky Archive refute this.

Sometime in October [1932], E. S. Gol'tsman, a former Trotskyist and current Soviet official, met Sedov in Berlin and gave him a proposal from veteran Trotskyist Ivan Smirnov and other left oppositionists in the USSR for the formation of a united opposition bloc.⁶¹

It is also refuted by Sedov in his *The Red Book On the Moscow Trials*.

These two facts, i.e., that meetings of Smirnov and Holtzman with Sedov actually took place, are the only drops of truth in the Moscow trial's sea of lies.⁶²

Sedov mediated the discussions between Gol'tsman and Trotsky. This constitutes "indirect communications" with Gol'tsman. Therefore in denying any such communication between himself and Gol'tsman since 1927, Trotsky was lying. Evidently he simply forgot that his son had already conceded that he had had indirect communications with Gol'tsman, and the compilers of the Dewey Commission report neglected to realize this – or realized it and thought it best not to mention it!

Esther Field claimed that in 1932 there was another nameless café connected to the Grand Hotel, then some other stores and then Konditori Bristol. In fact this was partly the case in 1937. We have proven that this was not so in 1932. Esther Field claimed that at the time of her visit to Copenhagen in 1932, she bought candies at Konditori Bristol and it was not adjacent to the Grand Hotel. This is also demonstrably false.

⁶⁰ *The Case of Leon Trotsky* 1937, p. 91.

⁶¹ J. Arch Getty, "Trotsky in Exile: The Founding of the Fourth International," *Soviet Studies*, vol. XXXVIII, no. 1, January 1986, p. 28.

⁶² Leon Sedov, *The Red Book On the Moscow Trials*, London 1980, Chapter 14.

At <<http://www.marxists.org/history/etol/writers/sedov/works/red/ch14.htm>>, retrieved November 14, 2008.

These errors are of such a magnitude that we can rule out any “honest mistake” in her affidavit. If she bought the candies at the place she said she bought them in 1932, it means that she bought them in the Citroën exhibition hall. The probability of confusing a café with a car exhibition hall must be regarded as slim to say the least. The Fields simply lied to the Dewey Commission. The most likely explanation is that, in creating their hoax, the Fields assumed that the relation between Grand Hotel and Bristol was the same in 1937 as in 1932.

It seems likely that they took advantage of the incorrect photo text in *Soviet Russia Today*. The journal stated that there the Grand Hotel was still adjacent to the Konditori Bristol in 1937. This was not so. This may have given the Fields – or more likely Trotsky, as we shall argue below – the chance to prove the Soviet-friendly magazine was lying about the fact that the hotel and the café were adjacent. But the Fields tacitly agreed with the magazine’s statement that the relative positions of hotel and café in 1937 were the same as they had been in 1932 – and this was *not* so.

The Dewey Commission also took exception to Gol’tsman’s testimony that he had agreed with Sedov to “ostanovitsia v gostinitse” (put up at the hotel).⁶³ Clearly you don’t “put up” at a café.⁶⁴ But if Gol’tsman remembered the hotel as the “Hotel Bristol,” this seeming inconsistency vanishes.

Gol’tsman’s claim that he planned to “put up” at the Hotel Bristol is contradicted later in his testimony when he claims that during the conversation with Trotsky he notified him that he planned to leave Copenhagen the same day.⁶⁵ It is hardly logical to “put up” at a hotel if you are planning to leave the same day. This inconsistency vanishes if we assume that Gol’tsman had agreed to stay at the hotel but then changed his mind. After all it was a clandestine illegal meeting and he did not want to stay any longer than necessary in Copenhagen.

The fact that the Field couple lied raises the question: Was Trotsky unaware of their falsehoods? In our view that is out of the question. The Fields had been with Trotsky in Prinkipo when Jean Van Heijenoort arrived there in October 1932. Later that year they had travelled with Trotsky to Europe. They gave an affidavit to the Dewey Commission which was read out in Coyoacan in Trotsky’s presence, and later testified to the Dewey Commission in New York. Clearly the Fields’ purpose was to

⁶³ “Ostanovitsia v gostinitse” is a vaguer Russian word for putting up at a hotel.

⁶⁴ *Not Guilty* 1972, p. 94.

⁶⁵ *The Case of the Trotskyite-Zinovievite Terrorist Centre* 1936, p. 100.

help Trotsky with their testimony. Had they lied without informing Trotsky that lie might have come back to hurt, rather than to aid, Trotsky's case. It is most unlikely they would have lied about this without Trotsky's prior knowledge.

A plausible hypothesis is as follows. Trotsky was acquainted with Nielsen's article and realized it could cause him trouble. Therefore he decided, with the help of the Field couple, to fabricate a story about Grand Hotel and Bristol. But why would he do this? There is only one plausible answer. He *knew* that Gol'tsman had told the truth but had confused the name of the hotel with that of the café.

The whole point of the Fields' lie – that in 1932 the Grand Hotel and the Bristol café were separated by several other shops such that their entrances could not have been confused, nor the name of the Grand Hotel mistakenly remembered as the "Bristol" – was to co-ordinate the Fields' stories in order to create "deniability" that Trotsky met with Gol'tsman.

Therefore there are two possible reasons that Trotsky, with the Fields' help, would have constructed this lie. First, the incorrect caption on the photo in *Soviet Russia Today* gave Trotsky a chance to appear to prove a "Stalinist lie" at the first Moscow trial. If Gol'tsman lied, other defendants could have lied as well, and the case against Trotsky would appear weaker. Second, Sedov really *did* meet with Gol'tsman at the Grand Hotel or, possibly, in the Bristol café itself, which Gol'tsman may have confused with a café in the lobby of the hotel, therefore as a part of the hotel itself.

We know that both B. J. Field and Esther Field were devoted Trotskyists. They were both leading members of the League for a Revolutionary Worker's Party.⁶⁶ In 1934 B. J. Field constructed something called the "Field Group":

About April-May 1934 half a dozen members of the Toronto branch and almost all of the Montreal branch split from the CLA(O) and joined the Organizing Committee for a Revolutionary Workers Party. [61] This group was set up by B. J. Field, leader of the 1934 New York hotel workers' strike and later a consulting economist to Wall Street brokerage firms, and a handful of his followers, following Field's expulsion from the New York branch of the CLA(O) in February. Later the name was changed to the League for a Revolutionary

⁶⁶ *New York Times*, June 27, 1937, p. 5.

Workers Party, known in Trotskyist literature as the “Fieldites” or “Field group.”⁶⁷

There’s no reason to doubt that the Field couple would agree to lie in order to help Trotsky.

6.7. Trotsky’s other falsehoods during the Dewey Commission hearings

We have known since 1986 that Trotsky lied to the Dewey Commission when he claimed that he had had no contacts with certain members of the opposition after he was forced into exile abroad in 1929. The American scholar J. Arch Getty found traces of the correspondence between Trotsky and, among others, Radek and Sokolnikov (two of the main defendants in the Piatakov-Radek trial) in the Trotsky Archive in Boston:

At the time of the Moscow show trials, Trotsky denied that he had any communications with the defendants since his exile in 1929. Yet it is now clear that in 1932 he sent secret personal letters to former leading oppositionists Karl Radek, G. Sokolnikov, E. Preobrazhensky, and others. While the contents of these letters are unknown, it seems reasonable to believe that they involved an attempt to persuade the addressees to return to opposition.⁶⁸

Getty also established that Trotsky and Sedov lied to the Dewey Commission by denying the existence of the “Trotskyite-Zinovievite Bloc” which in fact Trotsky had personally approved. Getty observes the enormous mysteriousness that characterizes these contacts:

Unlike virtually all Trotsky’s other letters (including even the most sensitive) no copies of these remain in the Trotsky Papers. It seems likely that they have been removed from the Papers at some time. Only the certified mail receipts remain. At his 1937 trial, Karl Radek

⁶⁷ “The Trotskyist Movement in Canada, 1929-1939,” *Socialist History Project* 1976. At <<http://www.socialisthistory.ca/Docs/History/Trotskyism-1930s.htm>>, retrieved November 14, 2008.

⁶⁸ Getty 1986, pp. 27-28.

testified that he had received a letter from Trotsky containing “terrorist instructions,” but we do not know whether this was the letter in question.⁶⁹

One of the foremost authorities on Trotsky, the late French scholar Pierre Broué, attempted to explain Trotsky’s lying in the following manner:

Recognizing the existence of a political bloc with Zinoviev and Smirnov in 1936 would have meant collaborating with Stalin, helping him to destroy all who had participated in the bloc and had yet to be “unmasked.” On this subject, our conclusion is clear: Trotsky and Sedov did not tell the truth about the bloc of 1932, but it was precisely their duty, at this time, not to tell this truth.⁷⁰

Broué’s assumption here that this bloc existed only in 1932 is a gratuitous one. For all Broué, or anybody, knows the bloc could have continued up till 1936 when the defendants in the January 1937 Moscow Trial were arrested. For our present purposes the fact still remains: Trotsky both lied and withheld important evidence. That means that his words cannot be taken as an account of the truth. J. Arch Getty has put it this way:

The point here is that Trotsky lied. . . . Trotsky was from the pragmatic, utilitarian Bolshevik school that put the needs of the movement above objective truth.⁷¹

Getty and Broué have established that Trotsky lied to the Dewey Commission regarding his contacts with the Trotskyists in the Soviet Union. In the present article we have proven that he – or at any rate, B. J. and Esther Field – lied about the Grand Hotel and Bristol café.

⁶⁹ Ibid, p. 34, n. 18.

⁷⁰ Pierre Broué, “Trotsky et le bloc des oppositions de 1932,” *Cahiers Leon Trotsky*, no 5, Janvier-Mars 1980, p. 30. The French original is as follows: “Reconnaître en 1936 l’existence d’un bloc politique avec Zinoviev et Smirnov en 1932 eût été collaborer avec Staline et l’aider à frapper tous ceux qui avaient participé au bloc et qui n’avaient pas encore été ‘démasqués.’ Là-dessus, notre conclusion est nette: Trotsky et Sedov n’ont pas dit la vérité sur le bloc de 1932, mais c’était justement leur devoir, à ce moment, de ne pas dire cette vérité-là.”

⁷¹ J. Arch Getty, Post to H-RUSSIA list, November 24, 1998. At <<http://tinyurl.com/mdrvz>>, retrieved November 14, 2008.

Trotsky knew he had written to his supporters in the USSR that he had approved of the formation of the “Bloc of Rights and Trotskyites,” and had even been reminded of that fact by his secretary Jean Van Heijenoort.

Included in file 13095 is a 1937 note from Trotsky’s secretary Van Heijenoort which shows that Trotsky and Sedov were reminded of the bloc at the time of the 1937 Dewey Commission but withheld the matter from the inquiry.⁷²

Despite the fact that some – perhaps a lot of – incriminating material has been removed from the archive, we still know a good deal. We know that Trotsky went far beyond merely withholding information, or lying “by omission,” at the Dewey Commission hearings. Trotsky told outright falsehoods as well.

Trotsky also lied, as we have seen, about his relations with Radek:

Pyatakov alleged that he came from Berlin to Oslo by airplane. The enormous importance of this testimony is evident. I declared many times, and I repeat again, that Pyatakov, like Radek, has been during the last nine years not my friend but my bitterest and most perfidious enemy, and that there could be no question of negotiations between us.⁷³

As we have seen, Getty has proven that this is not true, on the basis of documents in the Harvard Trotsky Archive.

Trotsky could have said: “Yes, I have been in touch with Piatakov by letter, but he never visited me in Norway or anywhere else.” Instead, after having acknowledged the “enormous importance” of Piatakov’s “testimony” at the January 1937 Moscow Trial about his visit to Trotsky in Norway, Trotsky chose to deny that he had been in touch with Piatakov, “like Radek, during the past nine years.”

Trotsky did not have to mention Radek’s name here. But in doing so, he told a lie. This means that Trotsky’s denial of having met with Piatakov in Norway in December 1935 cannot be accepted at face value. It reopens the possibility that

⁷² Getty 1986, p. 34, n. 19.

⁷³ *The Case of Leon Trotsky* 1937, p. 216.

Piatakov was telling the truth, and that this meeting of “enormous importance” did in fact take place.

It appears too that Trotsky lied to the Dewey Commission about his stay in Norway. In his testimony Trotsky denied that he had enough mastery over the Norwegian language in order to travel by himself in Norway.⁷⁴ That is contradicted by the unpublished memoirs of the police officer Askvig, who guarded Trotsky just before his departure to Mexico in December 1936. According to Askvig, Trotsky addressed the guards in correct and fluent Norwegian.⁷⁵ This came as a big surprise for Trotsky’s host Konrad Knudsen when the author Isaac Deutscher confronted him with this information in April 1956. Knudsen and Trotsky had mostly communicated in German.⁷⁶

The conclusions drawn by the Dewey Commission regarding the Bristol case rest on falsified testimony. We now know for a fact that both the Fields and Trotsky himself lied to the Dewey Commission. Thanks to Getty and Broué, we know that Trotsky lied when he denied being in touch with his followers in the USSR; when he testified that he had not been in touch with Radek since before 1930 and that there was no “Bloc of Rights and Trotskyites.”

We have no way of judging the rest of Trotsky’s testimony to the Dewey Commission except by evaluating that portion of his testimony that we can independently check. If it had turned out that Trotsky had told the truth about those matters we can check, we might be inclined to grant him the benefit of any doubt about other statements of his that we cannot independently verify. But the opposite is the case. We now know that Trotsky lied in a number of statements about important events. That suggests that his lies may well have not been limited only to those issues on which we now have independent information. He may have lied about much else as well.

The Dewey Commission was not Trotsky’s last attempt to try and refute the “Hotel Bristol” question. In the issue of his magazine *Byulleten oppozitsii* published in the summer of 1937, well after the Dewey Commission hearings, he made a very strange statement regarding Bristol:

⁷⁴ *The Case of Leon Trotsky* 1937, p. 209.

⁷⁵ Isaac Deutscher, *The Prophet Outcast – Trotsky 1929-1940*, London 1963, p. 351.

⁷⁶ *Ibid.*

Not until February this year the Comintern press made a saving discovery: in Copenhagen there is assuredly no Hotel Bristol but there is a Konditori Bristol next to the hotel. However, the name of the hotel is “Grand Hotel Copenhagen,” but at least it is a hotel. The konditori, on the other hand, is no hotel, but its name is Bristol. According to Gol’tsman the meeting took place in the lobby of the hotel. The konditori has not assuredly any lobby. But there is a lobby at the hotel, which name, however, is not Bristol. One can add to that, which can also be seen on the diagrams that have been published in the Comintern press, that the entrances to the konditori and the hotel are located at different streets. Where did in fact this meeting occur then? In the lobby without Bristol or in Bristol without a lobby?⁷⁷

Here Trotsky goes a bit further than the Fields did. He claims that Bristol and Grand had its entrances at different streets. Not even the Fields claimed such thing. Why did Trotsky tell such a blatant lie? The most likely explanation is that it was a smokescreen on his behalf. He wanted to create as much confusion as he could regarding the Bristol question since he knew that Gol’tsman had told the truth. Trotsky was a very intelligent man and realized that the Bristol question was a crucial matter in the 1936 trial. He knew that very few people and virtually no one outside Denmark had seen the diagram in *Arbejderbladet* so he could claim anything he liked.

All these proven lies call into question other statements Trotsky made at the Dewey Commission (as well as elsewhere). Perhaps Trotsky lied when he denied having met any of the defendants in the 1936 Trial.⁷⁸ Perhaps the documents which were said to prove that Sedov at the time of the alleged meeting had an exam at the Technische Hochschule in Berlin should be taken with a grain of salt.⁷⁹

6.8. Sedov’s falsehoods in his “Red Book”

⁷⁷ *Byulleten oppozitsi*, no 56-57, July-August 1937. At <http://www.1917.com/Marxism/Trotsky/BO/BO_No_56-57/BO-0518.html>, retrieved March 5, 2008.

⁷⁸ Apart from Gol’tsman also Berman-Yurin and Fritz David.

⁷⁹ *The Case of Leon Trotsky* 1937, p. 590. The documents in question consist of two notebooks and one separate exercise-sheet noted by the professors with stamps for the period November 25 to November 27, 1932. However, if Gol’tsman met Trotsky between November 23 and November 25, 1932 (see Trotsky’s previously mentioned speech on February 9, 1937), Sedov could have gone back to Berlin on November 24 and been back there in the morning of the 25th in time to attend classes at his school and then get the presence stamp.

We know that Sedov lied in his own analysis of the first Moscow Trial, his previously mentioned *The Red Book On the Moscow Trials*. In chapter 9 he claims:

Thus in 1932, one could observe a certain, though rather weak, awakening of the groups which at one time had capitulated before Stalin; the group of Zinoviev and Kamenev; the group of old left Stalinists – Lominadze-Shatskin-Sten (those who were called the “leftists”); of Smirnov and his friends, and also of some rightists, Riutin, Slepko, and others. . . . Of course the Russian Bolshevik-Leninists didn’t enter into any kind of bloc with a single one of these groups.⁸⁰

Later on in the book the following is said:

. . . The Left Opposition was always an intransigent opponent of behind-the-scenes combinations and agreements. For it, the question of a bloc could only consist of an open political act in full view of the masses, based on its political platform. The history of the 13-year struggle of the Left Opposition is proof of that.⁸¹

In reality, Sedov knew that his father had approved the “Bloc of Rights and Trotskyites” in 1932. We have more examples of Sedov’s lack of trustworthiness. In the foreword of his book he claims:

The author of these lines keeps himself apart from active politics.⁸²

We know that is false too. Sedov was assiduously aiding his father’s political work long before 1936. Getty discovered materials in the Harvard Trotsky Archive indicating that while he lived in Germany, Sedov helped his father maintain contact with persons passing in and out of the USSR.

⁸⁰ Sedov 1980, Chapter 9. At <<http://www.marxists.org/history/etol/writers/sedov/works/red/ch09.htm>>, retrieved November 14, 2008.

⁸¹ Ibid. At <<http://www.marxists.org/history/etol/writers/sedov/works/red/ch09.htm#n41>>, retrieved November 14, 2008.

⁸² Ibid, Foreword. At <<http://www.marxists.org/history/etol/writers/sedov/works/red/foreword.htm>>, retrieved November 14, 2008.

He [Trotsky] had tried to smuggle copies of his *Byulleten' oppozitsii* into the Soviet Union, and through his son Lev Sedov (who lived in Berlin) had maintained contacts with tourists and Soviet officials travelling to and from the USSR.⁸³

As Sedov had moved to Paris from Berlin just before Hitler seized power in 1933 this means his political activity dated from before that time. According to materials in the former Soviet archives Mark Zborowski, the NKVD agent who became Sedov's confidant and undoubtedly NKVD's most valuable mole inside the Trotskyist camp in Paris, reported to his handlers that Sedov had proposed in June 1936 he go to the USSR to do illegal Trotskyist work (Zborowski refused). Zborowski was Sedov's assistant in the writing of *The Red Book*.⁸⁴

Van Heijenoort states that Sedov had to promise the French police that he would remain aloof from political activity,⁸⁵ so Sedov had a good reason to lie about his political activity, which had to remain clandestine. But the fact is that he did lie, and not only about this fact but about the bloc.

We have established that Leon Sedov lied in *The Red Book* about the 1936 Moscow Trial. He would certainly have coordinated his story with his father, since the whole purpose of *The Red Book* was to deny charges made against Trotsky at that trial. But we can also see that this coordination failed concerning Gol'tsman.

Neither Esther Field nor Sedov would have lied without Trotsky's approval. So Trotsky was a part of their falsehoods as well.

6.9. The purging of the Trotsky Archive

Two other people bear responsibility for the above mentioned falsehoods: the author Isaac Deutscher and Trotsky's secretary, Jean Van Heijenoort.

Deutscher had studied the Dewey Commission report. Therefore he was fully aware of what Trotsky said about his shortcomings in the Norwegian language. Yet he says nothing about it in his book. That is not the only thing that Deutscher failed to mention. He was also silent about the contradiction between Sedov and Trotsky regarding contact with Gol'tsman. After having established the fact that Sedov and

⁸³ Getty 1986, p. 27.

⁸⁴ Volkogonov Papers, Manuscript Division, Library of Congress, Washington.

⁸⁵ Van Heijenoort 1978, p. 93.

Gol'tsman often met and discussed the developments in the Soviet Union, Deutscher revealed that these contacts were based on Sedov's correspondence with Trotsky:

This account is based on Lyova's [Sedov's nickname] correspondence with his father, and on his deposition to the French Commission of Inquiry, which, in 1937, conducted investigations preparatory to the Mexican counter-trial.⁸⁶

This makes it crystal clear that Trotsky had at least an indirect contact with Gol'tsman. But Deutscher did not mention the fact that Trotsky had lied about this at the Dewey Commission hearings. Nor did Van Heijenoort mention this, though as Trotsky's secretary he would have been responsible for the letters between them, and also had access to the Archive.

Deutscher also said nothing about the formation of the "Bloc of Rights and Trotskyites." This cannot be anything other than a deliberate omission on Deutscher's part since it is clear that he had access to the closed section of the Trotsky Archive, where Getty discovered multiple pieces of evidence attesting to Trotsky's knowledge of this bloc.⁸⁷

It is clear that the Trotsky Archive has been "purged" – but why? There is only one plausible answer: *There were incriminating documents there*. Broué assumes that because the only evidence of a "Bloc of Rights and Trotskyites" that remains in the Archive is from 1932, that the bloc existed only in 1932. But this is an unwarranted assumption. There is no basis for Broué or anyone else to assume that the only materials "purged" were those that were "purged" incompletely. Neither Broué nor we know what may have been removed so successfully that no trace of it remains. Lack of evidence is not evidence of lack.

Jean Van Heijenoort was Trotsky's secretary from October 1932 until 1939. Along with Deutscher and Trotsky's wife Natalia Sedova, he is the only person known to have had access to the archives, which he claims to have "put in order" himself.⁸⁸ He described the work for the Dewey Commission as follows:

⁸⁶ Deutscher 1963, p. 165, note 1.

⁸⁷ According to Trotsky's wish, the Closed Section of the Trotsky Archive was not to be opened until the year 1980; but Harvard University gave Deutscher access to it on the basis of a special authorization from Natalia Sedova, Trotsky's widow (see Deutscher 1963, p. 330).

⁸⁸ Van Heijenoort 1978, p. vi.

Needless to say, in all this work, there was nothing falsified, nothing hidden, no thumb pressed on the scales.⁸⁹

Thanks to Getty's research we can now see that Van Heijenoort lied about this fact, for his 1937 note about the bloc to Trotsky and Sedov remains.

It is very likely that it was either Van Heijenoort or Deutscher who "purged" the Trotsky archive of incriminating materials. Aside from Natalia Sedova, Trotsky's wife, they are the only two persons who are known to have had access to the archive. If Deutscher or Van Heijenoort did the "purging," then the falsehoods of theirs that we can now identify pale in comparison with the information they concealed.

But even if neither of them did the "purging," they still lied. Deutscher would have seen the same thing that Getty saw – the certified mail receipts. We know he examined in detail the closed archive, to which we know he had access (he cites it specifically). But he never mentions this. Deutscher would also have seen Van Heijenoort's note, which he also failed to mention. Therefore Deutscher deliberately concealed material that would have made Trotsky look untrustworthy. In fact Deutscher's book is relentlessly uncritical of Trotsky, basically just relating Trotsky's viewpoint on everything without seriously interrogating it, juxtaposing it to other evidence, etc.

We do not know for certain who "purged" the Trotsky Archive of incriminating materials. But the fact that both Deutscher and Van Heijenoort lied about what the Archive contains suggests that it may well have been one or both of them. The fact that they lied about matters we do know about suggests they are quite capable of having purged the archives – of lying about matters that, because of the "purging," we do *not* know about now.

At least two other persons could have "purged" the Archive – Trotsky himself and his widow, Natalia Sedova. This is unlikely. Trotsky did not expect to die when he did, by an assassin's hand. Why would he have expurgated his archive before then?

Sedova might have done so, but why would she have left what Getty called the "most sensitive" letters there? Those letters involved Trotsky's infidelities, his anger at her and hers at him, a letter in which Trotsky refers to his penis and his desire for

⁸⁹ Ibid, p. 109.

sexual intercourse with his wife.⁹⁰ It seems likely that she would have removed these letters had she taken the trouble to go through the whole archive with a view to “purging” it.

6.10. The Dewey Commission’s lack of credibility

We managed to uncover the connection between the Grand Hotel and the Bristol café with relative ease. With much greater ease the Dewey Commission could have checked and come up with the same facts that we have reached. Instead it chose to swallow Trotsky’s version uncritically. At best, their research in this question can be described as sloppy, at worst dishonest. It is remarkable, for example, that the Dewey Commission did not probe further into the contradiction in Vikelsø Jensen’s affidavit, a contradiction admitted by the Commission itself when dealing with the affidavit mentioned earlier in this essay:

This affidavit appears to contradict Jensen’s letter, quoted above. If the café in 1932 occupied the place where the two shops are today, then in order for shops to have been situated between the entrance to the hotel and that to the café, as stated by both Jensen and the Fields, they must have occupied a space in front of the café.⁹¹

This passage appears to mean that the Dewey Commission *knew* that the situation in 1932 was not the same as in 1937 but chose to ignore it. As noted above, we have established that in October 1936, Sedov admitted that he met Gol’tsman in Berlin in 1932. But at the hearings in Mexico in April 1937 Trotsky denied even an indirect contact with the same Gol’tsman. The Dewey Commission took no notice whatsoever of this contradiction between Sedov and Trotsky in *Not Guilty*!

Remarkably, the Dewey Commission during all these years has been commonly regarded as reliable and objective despite the fact that it was founded by

⁹⁰ Van Heijenoort 1978, pp. 112-114. Russian Trotskyist historian Iurii Fel’shtinskii came under some criticism for publishing the text of this letter and a facsimile of it in the 1990s. See Fel’shtinskii, “Pis’mo Trotskogo zhene,” <<http://www.lib.ru/TROCKIJ/letter.txt>>, retrieved November 26, 2008. The same document together with a letter of protest by some Trotskyist writers and Fel’shtinskii’s reply may be found in Fel’shtinskii, “Kto by mog podumat’ takoe o L’ve revoliutsii?” (“Who could have expected such a thing from the ‘Lion’ of the Revolution?”), <<http://www.pseudology.org/babel/TrotskySex.htm>>, retrieved November 26, 2008.

⁹¹ *Not Guilty* 1972, p. 92.

Trotsky's American followers and despite its composition. Of the five commissioners who appeared in Mexico, three of them were members of the ACDLT – Suzanne La Follette, Benjamin Stolberg and John Dewey.⁹²

The Commission was biased from its inception. Columnist and Editor of the *Baltimore Sun* Mauritz Hallgren, one of the original Commission members, resigned at the beginning of February 1937 in protest against what he felt was an attempt by Trotsky and his followers to use the Committee as a tool in Trotsky's struggle against the Soviet government. Hallgren was quoted in the *New York Times* as follows:

I believe that neither Trotsky nor his adherents are really desirous of obtaining abstract justice for Trotsky or for the Moscow defendants. I am certain that they want to use the committee, and are using it, for the single purpose of carrying on their campaign against the Soviet Government and, therefore, against socialism. I have no intention of becoming a party to any such arrangement. I have made no secret of my opposition to Nazi, or Fascist, or Japanese intervention in the Soviet Union. I see no reason why I should not as vigorously oppose Trotskyist intervention even though it be attempted under the banners of liberalism and in the name of an abstract and meaningless justice. For these reasons, which I have set forth in great detail in my communication to its secretary, I have withdrawn from the committee.⁹³

The Commission hearings have been described as a counter-trial. One fundamental condition for a judicial trial is that it should contain both prosecution and defense. In the Dewey Commission hearings only the defense appears. Trotsky was defending himself aided by Albert Goldman, but nobody was present to challenge his statements, much less to accuse him. In some European jurisdictions defendants may lie to defend themselves and do not have to "tell the whole truth." In the USA they can "take the 5th Amendment" – refuse to say anything that will make them look guilty of a crime. Absent of both a prosecution and some kind of neutral, objective investigation any such proceedings must inevitably be a whitewash, as the Dewey Commission indeed turned out to be.

⁹² Belton 1976, p. 146.

⁹³ *New York Times*, February 5, 1937, p. 20.

Author Carleton Beals, an independent commissioner not tied to Trotsky, resigned from his post after a week in protest against what he felt was an attempt by the Commission to steer the hearings in a manner friendly to Trotsky. He explained his resignation in an interview in the *New York Times*:

The hushed adoration of the other commissioners for Mr. Trotsky throughout the hearings has defeated all spirit of honest investigation The very first day I was told that my questions were improper. The final cross-examination was put in a mold that prevented any search for the truth. I was taken to task for quizzing Trotsky about his archives. . . . The cross-examination consisted of allowing Trotsky to spout propaganda charges with eloquence and wild denunciations, with only rare efforts to make him prove his assertions. . . . The commission may pass its check on the public if it desires, but I will not lend my name to the possibility of further childishness similar to that already committed.⁹⁴

Formally, the Soviet government was given the chance to accuse Trotsky. But this was an invitation that no government could realistically accept. Doing so would have been not only to reject the results of the Soviet trial that had already taken place, but also to lend legitimacy to an organization that was so obviously friendly to Trotsky. The Dewey Commission must have been aware that the Soviets would reject participation in the hearings when they invited them to it.

The Dewey Commission could have found neutral members, like Beals and Hallgren, and given them a free hand in cross-examining Trotsky and other witnesses. They could have made a real attempt to verify some of the statements made, such as the relationship between the Grand Hotel and the Konditori Bristol in 1932. They could have checked on the obvious contradiction in Vikelsø Jensen's statement. Having reached the results we have obtained here, they could have cross-examined Esther Field about her obviously false testimony. They could also have confronted Trotsky with what Sedov wrote in *The Red Book* about the contact with Gol'tsman. They chose to do none of these things.

⁹⁴ *New York Times*, April 19, 1937, p. 6.

6.11. The “Hotel Bristol” question and the Scandinavian periphery

How is it possible that the question of Hotel Bristol and the affidavits in the Dewey Commission have not been investigated before? One part of the answer is that it has been. As we have seen, the Danish Communists investigated the “Hotel Bristol” matter in 1937. But instead of checking the assertions and evidence given in *Arbejderbladet*, Trotskyists and – a more serious issue – scholars of history have chosen either to ignore or to dismiss them.⁹⁵ The only scholar we have found who has dealt with the Grand Hotel-Konditori Bristol question is Robert Conquest. Conquest quotes the version in *Social-Demokraten* and then continues:

Soviet propaganda had some difficulty with this point and belatedly settled for a story that Holtzman had met Sedov at a Café Bristol which was near a hotel of a different name at which he was staying, a version inconsistent with the original testimony.⁹⁶

Conquest’s statement is untruthful. The “Café Bristol” story (Conquest’s term) came not from Moscow, but from the Danish Communists. As we have seen, the publication *Soviet Russia Today* was also incorrect regarding the Bristol question. Nor did Nielsen, the *Arbejderbladet* author, claim Gol’tzman met Sedov at the café. Conquest could and should have gotten these elementary facts right. Moreover, he too could have done the research we have done here. Instead he chose to falsify the situation and ratify the testimony at the Dewey Commission.

And perhaps there is another reason that the “Hotel Bristol” affair has never been thoroughly examined, and that is the fact that Denmark, and Scandinavia generally, are at the periphery of the world’s attention. If the “Hotel Bristol” story had developed in, let’s say, London, Paris or New York it would have been checked

⁹⁵ One example can be found in Herbert Romerstein/Eric Breindel, *The Venona Secrets: Exposing Soviet Espionage and America’s Traitors*, Washington 2000, pp. 321-323. In this book it is said that the Danish Communists “opened up a café next to a hotel and put up a sign, ‘Café Bristol.’” In other words, the claim is that Konditori Bristol did not exist at all before 1936. As we have shown with our examination that is completely inconsistent with facts.

⁹⁶ Conquest 1971, pp. 163-164.

and put to rest long ago. It is probably for this same reason that Piatakov's alleged flight to Norway has also never been thoroughly investigated.

7. Conclusions

This essay has established the following facts.

- There was a “Bristol” – a café, the Konditori Bristol – at the same place in Copenhagen where the defendant Gol'tsman said that the hotel he went to was located.
- This Bristol café was connected to the hotel next door in two ways. Their doorways were side by side, adjacent to each other. They also shared an internal passageway between the hotel lobby and the café.
- As far as we can tell there was no sign identifying the hotel entrance. But there was a large sign reading “Bristol” right next to and above the door to the café, and the door to the café was right next to the revolving door to the hotel lobby.
- This “confusion” would not have caused the owners of the hotel and the café any inconvenience because both enterprises were owned by the same family – either by the husband alone or by him and his wife.
- Trotsky and the witnesses that testified before the Dewey Commission hearings in Mexico in April 1937 lied.
- The Trotsky Archive has been purged of incriminating evidence.
- The Dewey Commission did not bother to seriously examine the “Hotel Bristol” question but relied on what only can be described as party pleading on Trotsky's behalf. This means that the credibility of the Dewey Commission must be seriously questioned.

This means that in his article in *Arbejderbladet* of January 29, 1937 Martin Nielsen was correct in all essential respects. It also means, as mentioned, that the affidavits presented to the Dewey Commission in favor of Trotsky are inconsistent with the facts.

Pierre Broué's conclusion that Trotsky lied because it was part of the struggle against Stalin makes perfect sense. Lying and withholding the truth is common in politics but the fact still remains: Trotsky both lied and withheld the truth. This means, as we have established, that Trotsky's word cannot be taken for granted.

No one who has the truth on his side needs to lie in the way Trotsky, Sedov, and Esther Field did. They lied because they had something to hide. Therefore this is strong evidence that Eduard Gol'tsman in his testimony in Moscow told the truth about having met Sedov and Trotsky in Copenhagen in November 1932.

The Danish Communists in 1937 were right about the Bristol question but since they were Communists their account was either dismissed or met with silence. As Swedish professor Torsten Thurén, Principal Lecturer in the Department of Journalism, Media and Communication (JMK) at Stockholm University writes in his manual about source criticism: "It is not easy to accept . . . that the opponent that you hate with all your guts sometimes may be right."⁹⁷

⁹⁷ Torsten Thurén: *Källkritik*, Stockholm 2005, p. 66.

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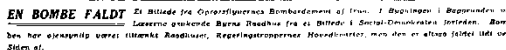
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FRIHED - LIGHED - BRODERSKAB

N. 242

København, Tirsdag den 1. September 1936

Hverdagsopgaver 59.497 Eksam



**Oprørerne truer med at bombardere Byen.
Men Angrebet lader vente paa sig.**

Perle, Mandag (R.B.).

AGENCE HAVAS' særlige Korrespondent meddeler fra Spanien at Oprørsvirksomheden har nået sit Flyveedler over Iran og meddelt, at Byen vil blive lagt i Aske i Dag af Oprørernes Artilleri. Flyveværkerne er Krigsmåske. Byens Borgmester anmoder om at træffe de fornødne Foranstaltninger.

**Kun Mand, der er rede til at
ofre deres Liv, maa være
i Irten.**

Byens Autoriteter har doretsis anmod-
ning indbyrdes om at forlade Byen
for soge tilflugt i Frankrig, Nederlandene
eller i Byen er paabegyrt til Kl. 1.30
Nal med nævnte 2000 Mennesker og
efterkomre i for Spænding de Laublen
uden skydsmaal befordre Beslutning
og i Grænsen. Den gamle Ordre til
der post, at fra Kl. 2.30 maa kun den
Mand være i Irten, som er rede til
at ofre deres Liv. Krævsomheden
Morgende har indvirket, at ingen Ofre
(Fortsættelse Side 3)

Social-Demokraten

1. Dag:	
LEDENDE ARTIKLER. Om-	
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En trykfuld Nat (en 300 Vers-	
arsfuld)	Side 1
To Aarsberetning forberedt af	
Sjælsregimentet	Side 1
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SPR	Side 1
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VOR KONGE	Side 1

Det i 1917 nedlagte Hotel Bristol paa Raadhuspladsen
genopstaar i 1936 i Moskva.

Ved et mærkeligt Tilfælde er Goltzmann »Stalin man ryddes & skændes herved derved ind i den Værelse

Dele af de som konspirativt var
være skude mod en stillet Bjergene
stung i det Hvide Vestlunde, hvor
sigende færdig. Men blot uventeligt
hviser det, naar det skal skude
være i Høje Tårn, der som behøver
være nedlagt i Høje Tårn. For 1913
— nemlig i Høje Tårn 1917 — og
som er fremkommet for 1913
hvor der er fremkommet for 1913
hvor der er fremkommet for 1913

[illegible]

Løbenharn, tage ind paa Hotel Bristol, og der skulde vi mødes. Da Banegaarden var jeg da direkte ind paa Hotellet, og i Vestibulen opdte jeg Søren.

Goltzmann fortæller, at vedrørende de havde sikkert givet nogle Resultater. Sandgarnet var undervejs af Antikvaratet selv indtaget. Antikvaratet blev

Forbundet skal bevæge udenforstaaende Stater til Indtræden.
Afrustningsbestræbelserne skal rationaliseres.

De økonomiske og militære Aftaler til Forhindring af Krig gøres effektive.

Henvendelse fra det danske Udenrigsministerium med Tilslutning fra Sverige, Norge og Finland.

S OM SVAR paa det Danske Folkforbundets har fremsat om fra de enkelte Medlemstater at modtage Forslag om Ændringer i Folkforbundets Organisation og Virksomhed, har det danske Udenrigsministerium i Gaar sendt Folkforbundet en Rødgrebne, der i Realiteten er et vidtrekkende Forslag om Reorganisation, og som har Tilslutning fra de tre andre nordiske Lunde: Sverige, Norge og Finland.

Forslaget, der aaledes fremtræder som Forslag fra det samlede Norden, gaar ud paa, at Følkens Forbund skal styrkes, dels ved at udvide Forbundet til om overhovedet muligt at omfatte alle Stater og rationelt høre Afraamningsarbejdet, dels — og ikke mindst — ved at gøre Krigstarens Bekæmpelse effektiv gennem Organiserings af de Magtmidler, Folkeforbundet raader over ved Enklænsforbunden.

V) gengiver i Hovedtræk Udenrigsministeriets Skrivelse, der er stilet til Folketorhåndets Generalsekretær:

Ingen Ændring af Forbunds-
pagten, men effektiv Udførelse
af dens Principer.

Ved Cirkularskrivelse af 1. Juli 1936 har De statuetten den danske Regering Folketingsindberetningens Børste af 4. Juli 1936 og anmodet om at behjælpe De med en som dansk Regering maatte finde Anledning til at stille i Nævnelse af nærværende Børste.

De pågældende Spørgsmål har været drøftet ved et Møde af de 4 nor-
diske Lande Udenrigsministre i Ko-
benhavn den 20. August 1935, og de
4 Udenrigsministre konstatere, at de
er enige med Hensyn til Hovedsyns-
punkterne.

Fredsbrudets Konstatering
skal betragtes som enstemmig, selv om Fredsbryderne stemmer imod.

derne stemmer imod.

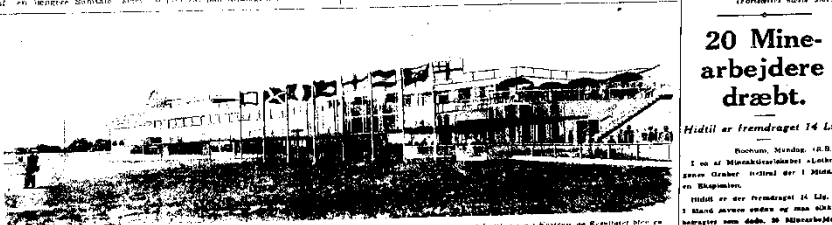
Der stilles fra Nordens Side Følgst
den Udbygning af Fælkelørbundspas-
sens Artikel 11.

Det nordiske Følgst gaa ud
at der nedsettes et Udvalg til
arbejde Regler for Artikel 11.

belægne om den bedste mulige Anven-
delse af alle Patents Register i 1900.
Herrende tilslutter jeg mig til bringe
følgende Tanker i Forslag om Grund-
loven for Diskussionen under September-
forhandlingene:

Folkeforbundet bør

omfattede alle Lande.
Da der efter vor Opfattelse er af
væsentlig Betydning for Folkereformens
dette Virksomhed, at dette faar en end-



20 Mine- arbejdere dræbt.

Hidtil er fremdraget 14 Lig

Nochum, Mundog. (R.B.)
I en af Minskensledebet »Lothrin-
genes Grube« (Lidder der i Middag-
en Eksplosion.
Tidstid er der fremdraget 14 Lg. og
1 Mand savnes endnu og man ønsker
hvorledes som disse 30 Minskenslede-
bet. (Lidder der i Middag-
en Eksplosion.)

Appendix B

English translation of the article in *Social-Demokraten* reproduced in original in Appendix A.

New sensation in the Moscow Trial

The, in 1917, closed down Hotel Bristol rises again 1936 in Moscow.

In a remarkable way *Copenhagen* has been involved in the recently finished Moscow Trial. Several times during the so-called interrogations Copenhagen was mentioned as meetings place for assassination preparations on Stalin himself and others. But the really few facts that are connected with the mentioning of Copenhagen are far from proven.

Accordingly claims one of the defendants – E. Gol'tsman in the interrogation of August 21 and published in "Pravda" on August 22, that he once in November 1932 met Trotsky's son, Sedov, in Berlin, and by him was urged to go to Copenhagen and see Trotsky. About that trip Gol'tsman said the following in the interrogation: "I agreed, but I told him that we could not go together for reasons of secrecy. I arranged with Sedov to be in Copenhagen within two or three days, to put up at the Hotel Bristol and meet him there. I went to the hotel straight from the station and in the lounge met Sedov."

Gol'tsman further claims that he and Sedov at around 10 am went to see Trotsky, who at the end of the conversation says to Gol'tsman: "Stalin must be removed."

The fact that two conspiratorial Russians would meet in the early morning in the lounge of a hotel does not sound particularly credible. But it becomes totally insane when the hotel in question would be Hotel Bristol since it went out of business many years before 1932 – namely in 1917 – and has not risen again until now in 1936 during the Moscow Trial.

The conspiratorial Gol'tsman possibly knew of the existence in Copenhagen of Hotel Bristol, which, during the World War, was so well known among international circles. It is also possible that he stayed there at some time during these

years. But his accusers probably were not aware that this big exclusive hotel was put out of business.

A number of other peculiarities would probably have been refuted from abroad – if the trial was not finished so speedily in a few days and ended in death sentences and executions of all the 16 defendants.

An appropriately conducted trial, with the access of foreign socialists and independent lawyers to try the accusations put forward, would have taken a much longer time and would most certainly have ended in a completely different way. Some of the accusers have, despite that, been put in the dock [*sic*].

Appendix C

The article in *Arbejderbladet*, January 29, 1937, pp. 7-8. For an English translation of the article, see Appendix D.

29. JANUAR

ARBEJDERBLADET

SIDE 7

Omkring Processerne i Moskva:

Trotskyist-Løgn afsløret: „BRISTOL“ eksisterer!

Opsigtvækkende Dokumentation, der beviser Rigtigheden af de under Processerne i Moskva fremkomne Afsløringer af Trotskyisternes kontrarevolutionære Virksomhed overfor Sovjet-Staten og dens Ledere

UNDER Processen sidste Aar i Moskva mod Kamenjef og Sinovjef udtalte et Vidne, at han efter Aftale var truffet sammen med Trotsky's Sø Søde „Bristol“ i København. Af hele Verdens trotskyistiske og socialdemokratiske Presse blev denne Udtalelse brugt som Bevis for, at alle under Processen fremkomne Afsløringer var legnagtige. Idet man påstod, at der ikke eksisterede noget Hotel „Bristol“ i København. Det gør der imidlertid, hvilket Redaktør Martin Nielsen beviser i et Forord, som han har skrevet til en Pjece om Kamenjef-Sinovjef-Processen, skrevet af den engelske Socialdemokrat D. N. Pritt. Pjeceen udkommer om få Dage paa Arbejderforlaget, og da vi mener, at de i Forordet fremkomne Afsløringer er af stor Interesse for den danske Arbejderoffentlighed, bringer vi med Arbejderforlagets Tilladelse nedenfor Forordet i dette fulde Ordlyd — og dermed er utvivlsomt en af Trotskyisternes og de ledende Socialdemokraters Løgne afsløret med Hud og Haar.

sammen med de russiske Arbejdernes Revolution i November 1917 var et værdigt Svar fra Arbejderklassens Side til Fr. Adler paa hans mangende Tro til Arbejdernes revolutionære Klasserkræfter.

„KUN EN SINDSSYG KAN HAVE FULDFØRT DENNE UDAAD!“

Dermed forvante den „officielle“ Arbejderbevægelse straks med alle Midler at rydde Fr. Adler af sig efter Attentatet. Typisk derfor var det danske Socialdemokratiske Ledelse og „Socialdemokraten“ i København, hvori Hr. Ernst Christiansen nu præsenterer Adler som „en af det østrigske Socialdemokratiske rangryggede Ledere“.

Som nævnt foretog Adlers Attentat den 26. Oktober 1916, og allerede den 28. Oktober 1916 havde „Social-Demokraten“ i København sin Dom over Attentatmanden færdig. Den var kategorisk og er slet ikke kedelig at læse i Dag. Domfældelsen består af Tykkere Fr. Stomper, der skrev en meget stor Artikel, der af Bladets da-gående Redaktør, afsløede Fr. Stomper, blev leveret Bladets Læsere i stort typografisk Udstyr.

Jeg kan selvsagt ikke gengive Artiklen i sin Ordlyd, men maa nøjes med nogle Citater, der ogsaa tilstrækkeligt viser Gangen i den:

„Den Menneskeheds Tragedie, som vi siden Mordene i Serajev har gensest, har med Værdisværd i Wien maalt et Højdepunkt, som selv den vidste Fantasi ikke havde formaaet at udmale sig. Den østrigske Ministerpresident Grev Stürgkh er død, og den Mand, som ramte ham, var Fr. Adler. Manden ... Den, som er blevet truffet eller haaret, som alle Trykmasker og Østing Arbejdere hænger ved i Mangelhed og Bærfrygt, det er vor Vilhelms Adler, en værdifuld Mandens uhyggelige Fæder ... Fr. Adler var værdifuld, da han forvarede sin skæbnelige Døds ... Kun en værdifuld kunde føde den Trøst og rette til Mordet, som Grev Stürgkh ... Og netop fordi det drejer sig om en udpræget Værdifuld, vil den lægen politiske Føder ... Kun en Sindssyg kan derfor have fuldført den ... Den eneste Løsning er Værdi!“

Jeg gaar ud fra, at dette er tilstrækkeligt.

I Anledning af den netop nu påbegyndte Højforberedelse i Moskva mod „Bristol“, Bristol m. fl., leder „Socialdemokraten“ for 29. Januar II. Internationales Formand, Louis de Brouckere, og dens Sekretær, Fr. Adler, fremkomte følgende Udtalelser:

„Det til nu sammensatte engelske Presse af Anklageskriftet komite vedrørende Bristol, Bristol, Bristol, Bristol — de andre Anklagere er en fuldstændig uvidende — viser, at Anklagen beror paa Urigtigheder og simpelthen er en ny Etape i Udrøddelsesforløbet med de gamle Bolsheviker“.

„Og i „Socialdemokraten“ for 25. Januar kommer der en Bristol-trotskyistisk Pennefører, Hr. Ernst Christiansen, en Bristol Pjece af udmærket Pjece ... Kællingsprocessen i Moskva“, der ligesom HIFA som „forfærdet Materiale“ underhaanden er udsendt til Arbejderbevægelsens Tillidsmand, og som nu for Tilfældet i passende Udstyr ogsaa er udsendt til offentlig Forbelysning.

Da nu Arbejderforlaget udsender den af den danske engelske Advokat og Medlem af det danske Arbejderpartis Parlamentariske Gruppe, D. N. Pritt, forfattede Redegørelse for „Sinovjef-Kamenjef-Processens Fælels“, som Hr. Pritt i Modsetning til Fr. Adler personlig overværede, og da store Dele af Adlers Pjece beskæftiger sig med at „bevise“ Hr. Pritts nærmeste Juridiske og klog-vurderende Fremstilling, gaar jeg ud fra, at det ikke kan nægtes for paatrængende, at jeg kort i det efterfølgende beskæftiger mig lidt med Fr. Adler og hans „Argumenter“, saa meget mere som jeg dermed ogsaa har beskæftiget mig med Hr. Ernst Christiansen og hans Fælels afslørende og dødeligt banende Spil med disse for Arbejderbevægelsen og Socialismen som dødsens alvorlige Bristol-døds.

HVEM ER FR. ADLER?

Fr. Adler, der som bekendt er Generalsekretær i II. Internationale, nævnte i den af HIFA her i Landet udvalgte Pjece at være værdigt kaldet til at kritisere og retfærdiggjøre Sovjet-Unionen, og det af de Grunde: For det første siger han i sin Pjece, der er formet som et „Bristol-Best“ til Georgi Dimitroff:

Jeg hævder, at det er Georgi Dimitroff, fordi jeg tillægger hans værdifulde Fælels, der paa en klar og tydelig måde er mere tilfredsstillende end de andre Mænds i Moskva-Dimitroff har hævset sig herunder. Fælelsen fra en Pjece, der paa en tydelig måde har været det under Rigtigheden af den nye



Friedrich Adler.

saa selvfølgelig som for mig, da jeg stod for Udførelsen af, at fremsætte sin personlige Overbevisning og uden nogen Indvending.

Og for det andet mener Fr. Adler sig kompetent til at kritisere og skamskænde Sovjet-Unionen, fordi han er — „Sovjetven“! Han siger derom i HIFA's Pjece:

„Jeg er absolut Modstander af revolutionær Kamp mod Sovjet-Unionen! Jeg forsvarede for fire Aar siden, da Udstemelsen for Stalins økonomiske Eksperiment var langt siktere, energisk den Opfattelse, at det russiske Socialdemokrati maatte bringe det store Offert, uanset at bekendte sig til en Politik, der gik ud paa at tolerere det bolscheviske Regime“.

— Saa ved vi altsaa hvem Fr. Adler er! Han rangerer lige med Helten fra Rigsdagsmanden i Leipzig, og han vil have Abrahamstøj til at „tolerere“ det bolscheviske Regime!

Det er hans egen Præsentation, og den kan jo ikke siges at lide af fulde Beskedenhed! Hr. Ernst Christiansen præsenterer ham for Socialdemokratiske Læsere paa følgende Maade:

„Fr. Adler, Sekretær for Socialistisk Arbejder-Internationale og en af de rangryggede Ledere af det danske østrigske Socialdemokrati ...“

HVORFOR FR. ADLER I 1916 STOD ANKLAGET FOR UDBETAGELSE-RETEN?

Det maa „Adler“ glæde Fr. Adler nu at få en saa værdifuld Omtale i det danske Socialdemokratiske „Bristol-Best“! Det har nemlig ikke altid været Tilfældet!

Fr. Adler er Sø af Løsen og Socialisten

Viktor Adler, det østrigske Socialdemokratiske Grundlægger og mangeårige ubestridte Fører.

Da Verdenskrigen i 1914 brød ud, hørte Sønnen Fr. Adler til den Kategori af Arbejdere, der tabte både Hovedet og Troen paa Arbejderbevægelsens Evne og Vilje til at føre revolutionær Kamp mod Krigen og Kapitalismen. Han tabte derfor ethvert Perspektiv og havnede i individuel Desperation!

Den 26. Oktober 1916 skød Fr. Adler paa en Café i Wien den østrig-ungarske Statsminister, Grev Stürgkh, og det er altsaa denne Døds han betyder til i ovenstående Citat, hvor han ligesindes sig med Georgi Dimitroff.

Den Gang var det Lenin og de russiske Bolsheviker, der sammen med Liebknecht og Luxemburg og Venstrefløj i Alverdens Arbejderbevægelse, der førte Kampen for Adlers Liv, uden blot et eneste Øjeblik at glemte hans individuelle terroristiske Handling, som alle Marxister paa det skarpeste forlødte. Det var især ogsaa denne Gang en ledende Marxist hængt sig til individuel Terror. Men Arbejderbevægelsens Venstrefløj forstod hans Motiver, uden den at podende dem, og derfor knækkede den for hans Fælels, der indtraf i November 1918 sammen med den tyske og østrigske Revolution. I November, den Revolution, der



Saaleder var „Bristol“ ud i Dag. Man bemærker til venstre paa Billedet Grand Hotel, der paa det Tidspunkt, der refereres til under Processen, gik ind i sin 24. Forbindelse med „Kandituri Bristol“, af hvilken Grand Udrængningen opfattede „Bristol“ som værende et Hotel.

Appendix D

English translation of the article in *Arbejderbladet* reproduced in Appendix C.

Around the trials in Moscow:

Trotskyite lie exposed: “Bristol” does exist!

Remarkable documentation which proves the correctness of the revelations brought forward during the trials in Moscow regarding the Trotskyites counter-revolutionary activities against the Soviet government and its leaders.

During the process last year in Moscow against Kamenev and Zinoviev, a witness announced that he had met Trotsky’s son Sedov at Hotel Bristol in Copenhagen. This announcement was taken by the Trotskyite and Social Democratic press around the world as evidence that all the revelations brought forward during the trial were lies since it was claimed there did not exist any Hotel “Bristol” in Copenhagen. However, it does exist, which Editor Martin Nielsen proves in the introduction that he wrote to a pamphlet about the Kamenev-Zinoviev trial written by the English Social Democrat D. N. Pritt. The pamphlet will be released in a few days by Arbejderforlaget and since it is our opinion that the revelations in the introduction are of great interest to the Danish working class, we publish below with the permission of Arbejderforlaget the introduction in its entirety – and then lies of the Trotskyites and a leading Social Democrat are completely confuted.

In view of the recently commenced high treason trial in Moscow against *Piatakov, Radek* and others, “Social-Demokraten” of January 24 puts forward the following statement of the leader of the 2nd International, *Louis de Brouckère*, and its Secretary, *Friedrich Adler*:

“Through the English press, the known information of the indictment against Radek, Sokolnikov, Serebryakov – the others indicted are completely unknown to us – *shows that the accusations are false and are simply another stage of the extermination campaign against the old Bolsheviks.*”

And in “Social-Demokraten” of January 25, our secret Trotskyite writer, Mr. Ernst Christiansen, puts forward a small pamphlet of the above-mentioned Friedrich Adler: “The Witchcraft Trial in Moscow,” which through HIPA has for long been available to the labor movement’s appointed representatives as “confidential material” and which has now also been sent released to the public.

Since ARBEJDERFORLAGET is now releasing the written account of *the course of the Zinoviev-Kamenev trial* by D. N. Pritt, the noted English lawyer and member of the English Labor Party’s parliament group, who, unlike Friedrich Adler, was present at the trial, and since considerable pieces of Adler’s pamphlet dwell on “disproving” D. N. Pritt’s objective judicial and evaluative account, I believe it is not too obtrusive if I deal briefly in the following with Friedrich Adler and his “arguments,” particularly since I have also dealt with Mr. Ernst Christiansen and his likes and their unpleasant and double-standard attitude, which has deadly serious consequences for the labor movement and Socialism.

Who is Friedrich Adler?

Friedrich Adler, who is known as the Secretary General in the 2nd International, claims in a pamphlet published by HIPA in this country to be especially called upon to criticize and guide the Soviet Union for two reasons:

First of all he claims in his pamphlet, which is presented as an “open letter” to *Georgi Dimitrov*:

“I am directing these words to Georgi Dimitrov, because I feel he has some qualities that give me hope that he is more receptive to my thoughts than the other rulers in Moscow. Dimitrov has, just like me, personal experience facing the death penalty. For him it was during the Reichstag Fire Trial and obviously for me it was when I stood trial

[after the assassination of Count Stürgk], countering his evidence aggressively and without admitting any guilt.”

And secondly, Friedrich Adler claims he is competent to criticize and throw dirt on the Soviet Union because he is a “Soviet friend”!

He says about that in HIPA’s pamphlet:

“I am definitely opposed to revolutionary struggle against the Soviet Union (!). Four years ago, when the prospects for Stalin’s economical experiments were far better, I defended vigorously the view that Russian Social Democracy must make public the big sacrifice to confess to a policy aimed at tolerating the Bolshevik regime.”

So then we know who Friedrich Adler is! He equals himself with the hero of the Reichstag Fire Trial in Leipzig, and he wants *Abramovich* to “tolerate” the Bolshevik regime!

That is his own presentation, and he cannot be accused of suffering from false modesty. Mr. Ernst Christiansen presents him for “Social-Demokraten’s” readers in the following way: “Friedrich Adler, the secretary for Socialist Labor International, and one of the upright leaders of the heroic Austrian Social Democracy. . . .”



Friedrich Adler

Why Friedrich Adler in 1916 stood trial!

It will most probably please Friedrich Adler *now* to receive such a flattering description of himself in the main newspaper of Danish Social Democracy. The fact is that that has not always been the case.

Friedrich Adler is the son of the physician and socialist *Viktor Adler*, the founder and undisputable leader of Austrian Social Democracy for many years.

When the world war broke out in 1914, the son Friedrich Adler was one of those labor leaders who lost his head and belief in the labor movement's ability and willingness to mount a revolutionary mass struggle against the war and capitalism. Therefore he lost his perspective and ended up in individual desperation!

On October 26, 1916, Friedrich Adler, at a café in Vienna, shot the Austro-Hungarian Prime Minister, *Count Stürgkh*, and it is indeed that deed that he refers to in the above quote, where he compares himself with Georgi Dimitrov.

In that time it was Lenin and the Russian Bolsheviks that, together with Liebknecht, Luxemburg and the whole world labor movement's left wing, fought the struggle for Adler's life but without for a moment approving of his individual terrorist act, which all Marxists condemned most sharply. It was then for the first time that a leading Marxist lowered himself to individual terror. But the labor movement's left wing *understood* his motives *without for that matter approving them*, and therefore fought for his freedom, which occurred in November 1918 at the time of the German and Austrian revolution in November. The revolution, together with the Russian workers' revolution in November 1917, was a worthy reply from the labor movement to Friedrich Adler for his tottering belief in the workers' revolutionary class struggle.

“Only a mentally insane could have committed such an act!”

On the other hand the “official” Labor Movement tried to distance itself by all means from Friedrich Adler after the assassination. One of those was the leadership of the Danish Social Democrats and the “Social-Demokraten” in Copenhagen, whose Mr. Ernst Christiansen now presents Adler as “one of the upright leaders of the Austrian Social Democracy.”

As mentioned Adler's assassination took place on October 26, 1916, and already on October 28, 1916, “Social-Demokraten” in Copenhagen passed its sentence over the assassin. It is categorical and not at all boring to read today. The sentence was passed by the German *Friedrich Stampfer*, who wrote a very long article which was delivered to the readers by the newspaper's Editor at the time, the late *Frederik Borghjerg*, in a fashionable typographical way.

I cannot reproduce the article in its entirety but will settle with some quotations which are enough to show the tone in it:

The human tragedy which we have endured since the murder in Sarajevo has, after the insane deed in Vienna, reached a new peak which no one in his wildest imagination could have anticipated. The Austrian Minister-president Count Stürgkh is dead, and the hand that held the murder weapon was that of Friedrich Adler. . . . “The one who has been hit hardest by this, whom all the workers in Germany and Austria hold so dear in their hearts, is *our* Viktor Adler, *the miserable father of an insane murderer*” . . . “Friedrich Adler was *insane* when he committed this repulsive deed” . . . “*Only a mad man* could have thought of committing such an act and raising a murder weapon against Count Stürgkh . . . And just because it really is a deed of insanity, it will have no political repercussions” . . . “Only a mentally insane person can therefore have committed it . . . the only justification is madness. . . .”

I take it for granted that this is enough! Anyone who doubts it can read “Social-Demokraten” of October 28, 1916, at the Royal Library.

I would not have brought forward this document from history’s oblivion if Friedrich Adler himself in his slanderous pamphlet hadn’t equaled himself with Dimitrov, and his conduct during the trial in Leipzig and also if “Social-Demokraten” and Ernst Christiansen hadn’t presented Friedrich Adler as a man without faults and as an impersonated Socialistic witness of truthfulness in the question of the Soviet Union and proletarian justice.



This is what “Bristol” looks like today. You notice to the left on the photo Grand Hotel which, at the time referred to during the trial, through a door was connected with “Konditori Bristol” which made the foreigners believe that “Bristol” was a hotel.

Friedrich Adler’s “evidently false explanation during the Moscow trial!”

So then this Friedrich Adler has taken upon himself in a pamphlet consisting of 32 small pages to “prove” that the Zinoviev-Kamenev trial was a “judicial farce” which in no way can be separated from the heretic processes in the Middle Ages and very little from the case law used by the Nazis.

If you carefully read through Friedrich Adler’s pamphlet only two “arguments” for all his claims and postulates of “proven false affidavits” are left.

The first “argument” is the claim, rejected time after time, that the Menshevik leader Abramovich was not in the Soviet Union in the summer of 1928, which was established in the big Menshevik trial, and the other “argument” is the claim put forward, first in “Social-Demokraten,” later in the whole world press, that *Gol’tzman*, accused and sentenced in the Zinoviev-Kamenev trial, was “coerced” to “falsely testify” that in late 1932 at Hotel “Bristol” haven in Copenhagen he had a conversation with Trotsky’s son, *Sedov*.

How a lie is manufactured, and how it later is implemented!

According to the official record from the Zinoviev trial and also quoted in Adler's brochure the accused Gol'tsman testified at one of the public hearings:

"I agreed with Sedov that I would arrive in Copenhagen in the course of a couple of days and check in to Hotel 'Bristol,' where we'd meet. *I went straight from the railway yard to the hotel, where I met Sedov in the lobby.* Around 10 am we drove to Trotsky. . . ."

Adler in his brochure comments on this fact like this:

"This Hotel 'Bristol,' where Gol'tsman was supposed to have met Trotsky's son is really mentioned in Baedeker over Denmark from the time before the war as the no 1 of the leading hotels in Copenhagen. But in the travel handbooks from the time after the war it is missing since the hotel in question was torn down in 1917 and has since then not been reconstructed."

From that statement that Adler got from Copenhagen Trotskyites, although they have something to hide, he builds his entire case that the confessions in the trial should have been forced.

But the claim that there does not exist any "Bristol" in Copenhagen has been released in cold blood by the Copenhagen Trotskyites, despite the fact that "Bristol" at least until lately has been a meeting place for both Danish and foreign Trotskyites in Copenhagen.

Nobody dispute the fact that the old Hotel "Bristol" which was located at Raadhuspladsen was closed down in 1917 and that it has not been reopened since then, but **"Bristol" is located one minute from the Main Railway Station of Copenhagen, and has been a meeting place for the Trotskyites!**

At the well-known corner of Reventlowsgade and Vesterbrogade – one minute from the Main Railway Station – the well-known restaurant "Gamle Braeddehytte," with an entrance from the corner, is located. The next entrance door, Vesterbrogade

no 9, is the entrance to the vestibule of “Grand Hotel Copenhagen,” then in the same building a kiosk is located which has a certain international look, where all kinds of Nazi, White Guard and Trotskyite newspapers and magazines from the whole world are sold.

The next entrance door, no 9 A, leads to a café which with big neon light letters speak the name “Bristol” all over the front.

“Konditori Bristol”

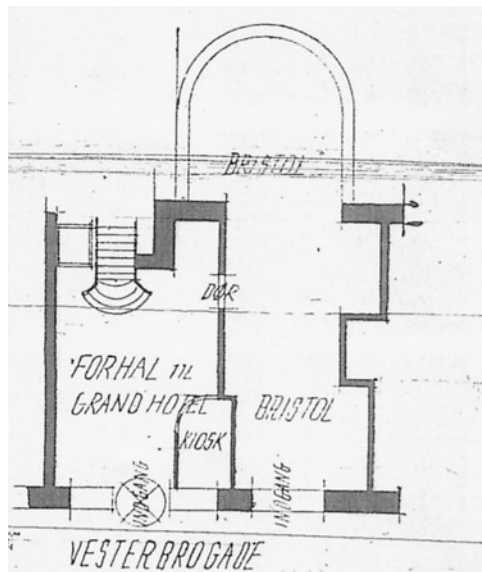
Café “Bristol” is a café with a certain international appearance, like the ones you can see in the boulevard cafes in Berlin and Vienna, and it is mostly visited by foreigners, travelers and more casually by boulevard people.

Café “Bristol” opened the first time in 1924, but at that time it was located in the part of the building which now is the “Grand Hotel” vestibule. At that time the café was a part of the hotel and an entrance from the café led up to the hotel. It was not until the modernization of “Grand Hotel” that “Bristol” moved a little bit further down to Colbjørnsensgade and got its own entrance in nr 9 A.”

The meeting place for Danish and international Trotskyites for a number of years!

This centrally located Wiener café, as investigations have shown, has for a number of years been a meeting place for the Danish Trotskyites as well a meeting place between Danish and foreign Trotskyites and also between foreign Trotskyites.

After these facts it is not difficult to draw the conclusion that in each case at least among the foreigners have been the case that the café's international known name “Bristol” is identical with the name of the hotel, and I do not doubt at all that when the accused Gol'tsman at the interrogation said: “I went directly from the railway yard to the hotel where I met Sedov in the foyer,” it was in the foyer at Grand Hotel that they met!



Sketch of "Grand Hotel" and "Bristol" which they looked like in the years 1929-1936, until Bristol was moved further down to Colbjørnsensgade. You notice the door (dør) in the middle that connected the hotel with the café.

This means that Friedrich Adler's "main argument" has mercilessly fallen flat on the ground. Responsible to a higher degree than Friedrich Adler for using this "argument" internationally in order to cast suspicion on the Soviet Union and proletarian justice, however, are the Copenhagen Trotskyites and their helpers, Ernst Christiansen and Aage Jørgensen, who cannot have been ignorant about the above-mentioned facts, but in their immense hatred for the Soviet Union here saw an opportunity to throw grave suspicion on the Soviet Union and proletarian justice and put their own pettifogging characters in the footlights.

It is only regrettable that it is not until now that our investigations have brought forward the crucial evidence: That "Café Bristol" was the meeting place of the Copenhagen Trotskyites.

Because of these facts both Friedrich Adler's slanderous pamphlet and D. N. Pritt's statement get their real value.

Copenhagen, January 1937

MARTIN NIELSEN